

THE DOCTRINE OF THE MEDIATOR IN CLASSICAL SCOTTISH THEOLOGY  
(FROM JOHN KNOX TO JAMES DURHAM)

by

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# ABSTRACT OF THESIS

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This thesis, by a careful examination of the original sources, seeks to uncover any possible modifications in the doctrine of the Mediator in Scottish theology between the Reformation and the Westminster era. The doctrine of the Mediator with its theological interconnections--Theology Proper, the Person of Christ, Man and Sin, the Work of Christ, the Covenant Concept, Predestination and Election, Salvation, the Church, The Sacraments, Human Response, and Criticisms of the Roman Catholic Church--is carefully constructed from the theology of certain men chosen on the basis of available copies of their works and their overall influence in Scottish theology. After the examination of the theology of these men--John Knox, Andrew Melville, John Welch, Robert Rollock, George Gillespie, Samuel Rutherford, David Dickson, and James Durham--there is a comparison attempted between the doctrine of the Mediator held by the later Calvinists and the Reformers--particularly Knox and Calvin.



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## PLEDGE

I do hereby affirm, pledge, and solemnly testify that this thesis, in all its parts, is entirely my own work and that I have received no illegitimate aid or assistance of any sort in its research, organization, composition, or refinement.

(November 1974)

## SUMMARY--ABSTRACT

This thesis, by a careful examination of the original sources, seeks to uncover any possible modifications in the doctrine of the Mediator in Scottish theology between the Reformation and the Westminster era. The doctrine of the Mediator with its theological interconnections--Theology Proper, the Person of Christ, Man and Sin, the Work of Christ, the Covenant Concept, Predestination and Election, Salvation, the Church, The Sacraments, Human Response, and Criticisms of the Roman Catholic Church--is carefully constructed from the theology of certain men chosen on the basis of available copies of their works and their overall influence in Scottish theology. After the examination of the theology of these men--John Knox, Andrew Melville, John Welch, Robert Rollock, George Gillespie, Samuel Rutherford, David Dickson, and James Durham--there is a comparison attempted between the doctrine of the Mediator held by the later Calvinists and the Reformers--particularly Knox and Calvin.

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## INTRODUCTION

It is probably true that not many modern countries can boast of a richer theological heritage than Scotland. Indeed her pastors, theologians, and ecclesiastical statesmen have left behind in their works and records evidences of the most profound, stimulating, and determined quests for the truth through controversy, persecution, and rigorous debate. Their efforts and insights constitute a theological history which, when carefully studied, proves not merely to be interesting and moving, but a training ground as well for the deepest theological discussion and learning. Theologically speaking the history of few other modern countries can yield to its student the vast reward offered by that of Scotland.

Although every era of her theological history is of immense value for study, one of the most unique periods is that time between 1560, the official beginning of the Scottish Reformation, and the Westminster era (1643-1649)--also called the Second Reformation--when the Westminster documents became the subordinate standard for the Reformed Church in Scotland. At the beginning of this period the Scottish Church was a newly reformed entity, with its theology reflecting the distinctives which had led to the break with the Roman Church and with a vibrant freshness, not of something new, but of something old which had been

lost and then rediscovered. At the close of this period the Church was more settled, her theology more precise, her subordinate standards longer and more detailed, and her roots more firmly established. But in comparing the theology of the Scottish Church during these two highly significant intervals in her history, suspicions begin to arise that there may have been some subtle changes and shifts of emphasis. This sentiment is well voiced by Horatius Bonar who states, "It may be questioned whether the Church gained anything by the exchange of the Reformation standards for those of the seventeenth century."<sup>1</sup>

#### THE PLAN AND SCOPE OF THE THESIS

It is the purpose of this thesis to investigate carefully the leading Scottish theologians of this period to determine whether or not there have been some significant variations or differences in stress concerning the doctrine of the Mediator. Indeed it is the doctrine of the Mediator which is the Christian religion itself--the "main point"--and which distinguishes it from all other forms of religion.<sup>2</sup> Thus a theologian's presentation of the doctrine of the Mediator<sup>3</sup> contains within it, if not the whole of his theol-

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<sup>1</sup>Horatius Bonar, *Catechisms of the Scottish Reformation* (London: James Nisbet and Company, 1866), p. viii. Cf. Edward Irving, *The Collected Writings of Edward Irving*, ed. G. Carlyle, vol. 1 (London: Alexander Strahan & Co., 1864), pp. 602-606.

<sup>2</sup>Emil Brunner, *The Mediator*, trans. Olive Wyon (Philadelphia: Westminster Press, 1957), p. 40. Note also the full title of this work--*The Mediator: A Study of the Central Doctrine of the Christian Faith*.

<sup>3</sup>In classical Greek μεσίτης had the idea of a mediator, umpire, arbitrator, or one in a middle position (Henry George Liddell

ogy, certainly the seeds and framework of the entire structure.<sup>4</sup> Consequently it is in connection with this great doctrine that any changes or modifications in Scottish theology during the period specified may best be sought. This thesis then involves a search for any significant, no matter how subtle, modifications in the doctrine of the Mediator in this period. The intention is by no means to highlight the points of agreement, for all the theologians studied hold firmly to Nicaean and Chalcedonian standards of orthodoxy, nor to repeat everything which could be stated concerning the doctrine of the Mediator. Rather the thesis is limited to possible areas of disagreement, change of stress, or other modifications of the doctrine.

If Scottish theology is a neglected field of study, this particular period is even more so. It appears to be commonly assumed that Scottish theology begins with the documents of Westminster and all previous thought only leads up to that assembly of divines. As a result there

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and Robert Scott, *A Greek-English Lexicon* [Oxford: Clarendon Press, n. d.], II, p. 1106). In New Testament usage its meaning is "one who mediates between two parties to remove a disagreement or reach a common goal" (William F. Arndt and F. Wilbur Gingrich, *A Greek-English Lexicon of the New Testament and Other Early Christian Literature* [London: University of Chicago Press, Ltd., 1957], p. 507). Four New Testament usages clearly refer to Christ (I Timothy 2:5; Hebrews 8:6; 9:15; 12:24) while two (Galatians 3:19-20) are in dispute and may refer to Moses (Ernest De Witt Burton, *A Critical and Exegetical Commentary on the Epistle to the Galatians* [Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark, 1921], pp. 189-190), though there are over 250 different interpretations of this difficult passage (W. F. Adeney, "Mediator, Mediation," *A Dictionary of the Bible* [Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark, 1900], III, p. 318).

<sup>4</sup>The fact that the term "Mediator did not for a while become a central concept in dogmatics may possibly be explained by the use of

has been little research done on the interval between the Reformation and Westminster.<sup>5</sup> But this is a period which deserves careful study because in it the Church in Scotland grew from birth to adolescence, from its beginning until its firm establishment in doctrine. And it is in this period that possible modifications in the doctrine of the Mediator are perhaps most significant, for no institution or person can escape the effects of its or his own development.

In opposition to the common accusation that most doctoral theses involve little more than the digging up of old bones for redeposit in a fresh grave, four basic purposes for this thesis can be suggested. The first is historical in that the attempt is made to discover what happened theologically in terms of the doctrine of the Mediator during this period of the Scottish Church's history. In order to facilitate this purpose certain men have been selected, primarily on the basis of their overall influence and the existence of copies of their writings. And the attempt has been made to let these men speak for themselves, by careful study of the original sources, rather than imposing a foreign theological structure on

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other terms ("Lord," "Son of God," "Saviour") in its place in order to avoid the strong secular and Jewish associations of the term during the early years of the Church age. A. Oepke, "μεσότης, μεσितεύω," *Theological Dictionary of the New Testament* (Grand Rapids: Wm. B. Eerdmans Publishing Company, 1967), IV, p. 624.

<sup>5</sup>For an interesting and vivid (as well as humorous) explanation of why the records of these older men are not attractive to modern readers (style, appearance, etc.) see John MacPherson, *The Doctrine of the Church in Scottish Theology* (Edinburgh: Macniven & Wallace, 1903), pp. 5-18.



them. Therefore, the bibliography consists by and large of original sources, though there is not a great deal to draw from on this period as far as secondary sources are concerned. Since all historical theology runs the risk of forcing a system, a precision, or other *a priori* assumptions on men of the past, extensive documentation has been provided in order that the interested reader or careful student might see for himself if the proper interpretation has been given to each individual and if the overall conclusions of the thesis are supported by the facts and interpretation given.

The second purpose is didactic. It has been said that those who neglect the past are doomed to repeat its mistakes. Hence it is that if there were significant modifications in the doctrine of the Mediator during this period, it could well be that those same changes or variations are being made today by men who are sincere, but uninformed concerning the mistakes of the past. Certainly any shift of emphasis in the doctrine of the Mediator is not merely theological, but also affects the whole life and worship of the Christian community which operates within that particular theological structure.

In connection with this purpose is the third which is prophetic. The suggestion intended is that because of man's essential humanity the same errors are repeated by generation after generation until they are adequately corrected, although correction does not always contain the error. Therefore, if there were significant modifications in this doctrine of the Mediator in theology during the particular period in question, the Church must

always be on guard that she does not repeat her mistakes. Unless she sees herself in constant need of reproof, correction, and instruction in righteousness (II Timothy 3:16) the errors of the past will always haunt her. Thus what happened during this period from the Reformation until the Second Reformation will very likely happen again and again unless the Church is confronted by her own past.

The fourth purpose is scientific in that, if there were changes in the doctrine of the Mediator, it is not enough to see what they were, but the question remains as to why they occurred in the first place. Yet this question can be answered only in terms of scientific theology. Thus the existence of possible modifications in the doctrine of the Mediator serves to illustrate the necessity of proper scientific theology, without which the life and health of the Church will certainly suffer. And because these possible modifications can be explained only through the principles of scientific theology it could be said that this thesis deals not merely with the doctrine of the Mediator, but also with the theological interconnections which surround and support it. It demonstrates the strategic importance of a proper understanding of the interrelated character of the various elements of this doctrine and of letting the nature of the truth dictate the method and structure of the inquiry, rather than letting any extrinsic systematic principle play an authoritarian role. The theological interconnections surrounding the doctrine of the Mediator involve very sensitive points over which sincere, godly ministers have disagreed, men been excom-

municated, and the Church rent in controversy. But, nevertheless, these fine distinctions and the careful weighing of theological arguments and scriptural truths, are necessary for proper theology. Scientific theology also shows how arguments can be carried to their logical conclusions in an improper manner if logic is allowed to dictate the casting into which the truth is placed. And scientific theology teaches the importance of stress; it is not enough for a truth to be mentioned once in a theological treatise, but the question which must be asked is whether or not it is given the proper emphasis in terms of the underlying interconnections which are revealed by scientific theology. In some ways this kind of theology can be humbling in that it reveals the frailty of all human formulations of the truth and shows how some pious and godly men have failed to teach the whole counsel of God and have need as Apollos to be more perfectly instructed.

In the execution of these purposes two plans become obvious for the thesis. One is to cover each man and his doctrine of the Mediator in succession and then offer a concluding comparison. The other is to present what is seen as the proper doctrine of the Mediator and its supporting interconnections, using the men in question as illustrations of the various points. While the former method risks unrelatedness and incoherence, the latter risks an unfair consideration of the various theologians because of *a priori* assumptions which govern the way in which they are presented. The former method has been chosen for this thesis primarily in order that the in-

dividuals discussed might be presented in their context and individuality with regard to the Mediator. Not one of them has left behind a systematic theology containing his doctrine of the Mediator, but each has expressed his doctrine in a given context or in terms of a specific issue which has arisen during his time of ministry and service. Thus the attempt has been made to study each man in his original writings and unique context so as to demonstrate first his doctrine of the Mediator and the interrelationships which surround it, and secondly to attempt a comparison to determine whether or not there have been subtle shifts in emphasis during the overall period.

It should be added that there is no specific section concerning the *Westminster Confession*, even though it became the subordinate standard for the Church of Scotland. The first reason is that the confession is not truly Scottish, but English. Secondly, the thesis covers men such as George Gillespie and Samuel Rutherford who were the leading Scottish voices at the Assembly and attempts to analyze their theology and overall ethos which produced the *Westminster Confession*. Hence the thesis attempts to go both behind and farther than the confession goes in elaborating the doctrine of the Mediator.

#### THE MEDIEVAL BACKGROUND TO THE REFORMATION

In order to understand adequately the concept of the Mediator in the Scottish Reformation it is necessary to see it in terms of a larger, historical perspective.

The Reformation on the Continent and in Scotland sprang from a reaction against the medieval notions which the Reformers saw as militating against the truth of the Gospel, against Christ the one Mediator between God and man.

The medieval concept of the Mediator grew out of the theology of Thomas Aquinas (*ca.* 1225-1274), who was the foremost theologian of the medieval Roman Catholic Church, as well as the most important and influential scholastic theologian.<sup>6</sup> His system which is the most determinist of all Christian theologies<sup>7</sup> and is decidedly Aristotelian though mixed with Neoplatonic elements,<sup>8</sup> is most fully presented in his *Summa Theologica* (*ca.* 1265-1273), which was especially written for students of theology and as a replacement for the conventional syntheses of the time.<sup>9</sup>

There are many positive things which can be said regarding the theology of Aquinas such as his firm belief in the deity of Christ,<sup>10</sup> the full humanity of Christ,<sup>11</sup> and

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<sup>6</sup>W. A. Wallace and J. A. Weisheipl, "Thomas Aquinas," *New Catholic Encyclopedia*, 1967, XIV, 102.

<sup>7</sup>Thomas F. Torrance, *The School of Faith: The Catechisms of the Reformed Faith* (London: James Clarke & Co., Limited, 1959), p. LXXI (Hereafter designated as T. F. Torrance, *School*).

<sup>8</sup>Reinhold Seeberg, "Thomas Aquinas," *The New Schaff-Herzog Encyclopedia of Religious Knowledge*, 1911, XI, 427.

<sup>9</sup>Wallace and Weisheipl, p. 111.

<sup>10</sup>St. Thomas Aquinas, *Summa Theologica*, trans. Fathers of the Dominican Province (London: R. & T. Washbourne, Ltd., 1913), III, Q. 1, A. 1 ad. 1 (Hereafter designated as *S. T.*).

<sup>11</sup>*Ibid.*, III, Q. 4, A. 6; Q. 5, A. 2 and 4; Q. 9, A. 4; Q. 18., A. 1-4.

the love of God for mankind in spite of his sin.<sup>12</sup> He also teaches that Christ was predestinated according to His human nature as the exemplar of the believer's predestination, although by one act God predestinated both Christ and His members.<sup>13</sup> Christ who is the natural Son makes His members sons by adoption<sup>14</sup> as He offers Himself according to His human nature both as priest and the perfect victim before God.<sup>15</sup> And Aquinas teaches that the death of Christ has full power to expiate sins and to remove the guilt of sin with the debt of punishment.<sup>16</sup> He also stresses the role of Christ's humanity in His capacity as Mediator,<sup>17</sup> who as the only perfect Mediator reconciled the human race to God.<sup>18</sup> He teaches the reality of Christ's death,<sup>19</sup> resurrection,<sup>20</sup> and ascension into heaven in His human nature.<sup>21</sup> Thus salvation is properly

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<sup>12</sup>Ibid., III, Q. 49, A. 4 ad 2. He states, "Christ is not said to have reconciled us with God, as if God had begun anew to love us. . . ."

<sup>13</sup>Ibid., III, Q. 24, A. 2 ad 1; Q. 24, A. 3-4. He explains, "If we consider predestination on the part of the very act of predestinating, then Christ's predestination is not the cause of ours: because by one and the same act God predestinated both Christ and us. But if we consider predestination on the part of its term, thus Christ's predestination is the cause of ours: for God, by predestination from eternity so decreed our salvation, that it should be achieved through Jesus Christ."

<sup>14</sup>Ibid., III, Q. 24, A. 3.

<sup>15</sup>Ibid., III, Q. 22, A. 2.

<sup>16</sup>Ibid., III, Q. 22, A. 3-4.

<sup>17</sup>Ibid., III, Q. 26, A. 2.

<sup>18</sup>Ibid., III, Q. 26, A. 1.

<sup>19</sup>Ibid., III, Q. 50, A. 1.

<sup>20</sup>Ibid., III, Q. 53, A. 1.

<sup>21</sup>Ibid., III, Q. 57, A. 6.

ascribed to the man Christ, the Redeemer,<sup>22</sup> for by His passion His members are freed from all debt and punishment and given the spirit of adoption as sons.<sup>23</sup> He also maintains that "Christ's Passion was not only a sufficient but a superabundant atonement for the sins of the human race."<sup>24</sup>

Yet Aquinas' teaching, because of what Protestants see as inadequacies and mistakes, led the medieval church into that form of doctrine which the Reformers opposed so vigourously. One of the first areas on which the Reformers were to separate from Aquinas is his teaching regarding the human nature received by Christ in His Incarnation. The idea of a universal or inclusive humanity is rejected on philosophical grounds since Aquinas feels that such a notion would destroy the vicarious nature of Christ's work.<sup>25</sup> To the contrary he maintains that "the Son of God assumed human nature *in atomo--i.e.*, in an individual; hence, "the Son of God is not the man whom He assumed, but the man whose nature He assumed."<sup>26</sup> Following John of Damascus he holds that the Incarnation does not involve the assumption of human nature by the Word in all men.<sup>27</sup> He writes:

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<sup>22</sup>Ibid., III, Q. 48, A. 5-6.

<sup>23</sup>Ibid., III, Q. 49, A. 3 ad 3.

<sup>24</sup>Ibid., III, Q. 48, A. 2.

<sup>25</sup>George S. Hendry, *The Gospel of the Incarnation* (London: SCM Press, Ltd., 1959), pp. 65-67.

<sup>26</sup>S.T., III, Q. 4, A. 3.

<sup>27</sup>Hendry, p. 66.



The love of God toward men is manifested not only in the actual assumption of human nature but chiefly by what He suffered in human nature for other men . . . and there would be no room for this if He had assumed nature in all men.<sup>28</sup>

In this regard also Aquinas is ambiguous as to whether Christ assumed a perfect or an imperfect human nature. On the one hand he insists that Christ assumed a perfect human nature,<sup>29</sup> "without sin in the purity which it had in the state of innocence."<sup>30</sup> Christ did not sin in Adam, because He was not in Adam according to seminal virtue, but according to bodily substance;<sup>31</sup> He assumed a sinless human nature from the Virgin,<sup>32</sup> without sinful defects,<sup>33</sup> or any evil desires whatever.<sup>34</sup> But on the other hand Aquinas asserts that Christ assumed a full human nature and "the likeness of sinful flesh."<sup>35</sup> He assumed properly those defects which flow from the common sin of the whole nature, yet are not repugnant to the perfection of knowledge and grace.<sup>36</sup> Thomas may have realized his own inconsistency here, for he states that the corruption of the flesh "was not in Christ as far as it was sinful; but as far as it was a punishment; thus, for a time it was

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<sup>28</sup> *S.T.*, III, Q. 4, A. 5, ad 2; Hendry, p. 66.

<sup>29</sup> *S.T.*, III, Q. 18, A. 1.

<sup>30</sup> *Ibid.*, III, Q. 14, a. 3.

<sup>31</sup> *Ibid.*, III, Q. 15, A. 1 ad 2.

<sup>32</sup> *Ibid.*, III, Q. 14, A. 3 ad 1.

<sup>33</sup> *Ibid.*, III, Q. 14, A. 4.

<sup>34</sup> *Ibid.*, III, Q. 7, A. 2 ad 3.

<sup>35</sup> *Ibid.*, III, Q. 39, A. 1.

<sup>36</sup> *Ibid.*, III, Q. 14, A. 4.



in Christ that He might carry through the work of our redemption."<sup>37</sup> Therefore, "Christ healed the passability and corruptibility of our body by assuming it" and also all other defects of the body. He assumed our defects "to satisfy for the sin of human nature," to prove the truth of His human nature, and . . . become an example of virtue to us." But Christ did not assume the defect of sin in human nature.<sup>38</sup>

For Aquinas the necessity of the Incarnation rests solely on the sin of man; he explains that

since everywhere in Sacred Scripture the sin of the first man is assigned as the reason of the Incarnation, it is more in accordance with this to say that the work of the Incarnation was ordained by God as a remedy for sin; so that, had sin not existed, the Incarnation would not have been.<sup>39</sup>

Though He argues also that the Incarnation was not absolutely essential, "it was the most suitable way both for the purpose of instruction and of satisfaction."<sup>40</sup> Therefore there is no apparent reason for Aquinas why the Son of God should remain incarnate throughout eternity.<sup>41</sup>

Although Aquinas does observe that in Christ, the fount of all grace, there are three offices--lawgiver, priest, and king,<sup>42</sup> his treatment of these offices,

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<sup>37</sup> Ibid., III, Q. 5, A. 2 ad 2.

<sup>38</sup> Ibid., III, Q. 14, A. 4 and Q. 15, A. 1.

<sup>39</sup> Ibid., III, Q. 1, A. 3.

<sup>40</sup> Seeberg, p. 425.

<sup>41</sup> S. T., III, Q. 3, A. 7--"Therefore it seems that after the Incarnation the Son can assume another human nature distinct from the one He assumed."

<sup>42</sup> Ibid., III, Q. 22, A. 1 ad 3.

particularly the prophetic and kingly offices, is very sparse. As a Priest Christ is according to the order of Melchisedech an eternal Priest<sup>43</sup> who has ascended (1) to prepare the way for our ascent, (2) to allow Him to make intercession for us before God in the human nature which He assumed at the Incarnation, and (3) to allow Him as God and Lord to send down gifts upon men.<sup>44</sup>

Because Thomas rejects the assumption of a universal humanity of Christ in the Incarnation, for him the vicarious intention of Christ's work acquires universal scope in the doctrine of grace given to Christ as Head of the Church. In Him are three distinct graces: (1) the grace given to Him as an individual (*gratia habitualis*), (2) the grace of the hypostatic union (*gratia unionis*, and (3) the "superabundant fullness of grace given to Him as Head of the Church (*gratia fontalis*)."<sup>45</sup> Christ is Head of all men only in that His saving work belongs to Him as Head,<sup>46</sup> and "grace was bestowed on him as the universal principle in the class of those who have grace."<sup>47</sup> Grace is in Christ as Head of the whole Church which forms one mystical person made up of Christ and His members.<sup>48</sup> But the grace of Headship, which constitutes the Headship of Christ over

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<sup>43</sup>Ibid., III, Q. 22, A. 6.

<sup>44</sup>Ibid., III, Q. 57, A. 6.

<sup>45</sup>Hendry, p. 67.

<sup>46</sup>S.T., III, Q. 8, A. 3.

<sup>47</sup>Ibid, III, Q. 8, A. 1 ad 1; Hendry p. 67.

<sup>48</sup>S.T., III, Q. 19, A. 4.

the Church, is grounded on His divinity, rather than His humanity;<sup>49</sup> for "to give grace or the Holy Ghost belongs to Christ as He is God, authoritatively; but instrumentally it belongs also to Him as man, inasmuch as His manhood is the instrument of His Godhead."<sup>50</sup> This instrumental role conceded to the humanity of Christ, which is difficult to locate in Aquinas' writings, does not mean that His humanity is the medium through which the benefits of His saving work are transmitted to us.<sup>51</sup> For Thomas the grace bestowed on Christ as Head of the Church overflows into His members;<sup>52</sup> thus "the head and members are as one mystic person; therefore Christ's satisfaction belongs to all the faithful as being His members."<sup>53</sup> Thus although Christ's suffering appeased God for every offence of the human race, His grace and suffering applies only to those who are His members by spiritual regeneration.<sup>54</sup> Aquinas in effect transfers the question of universality from the doctrine of the Incarnation to the doctrine of the Church; "he sees the solidarity of Christ with us ecclesiologically rather than ontologically."<sup>55</sup>

In accordance with Christ's union with His own in

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<sup>49</sup>Hendry, p. 67.

<sup>50</sup>S.T., III, Q. 8, A. 1 ad 1.

<sup>51</sup>Hendry, pp. 67-68.

<sup>52</sup>S.T., III, Q. 48, A. 1.

<sup>53</sup>Ibid., III, Q. 48, A. 2 ad 1.

<sup>54</sup>Ibid., III, Q. 49, A. 4. and Q. 52, A. 7 ad 2.

<sup>55</sup>Hendry, pp. 67-68.

the Church is Aquinas' teaching concerning the sacraments. While he insists that "it is not our actions, but the grace of our Redeemer, that is the principal cause of the hope of salvation,"<sup>56</sup> he maintains that the sacraments are ordained unto sanctification by divine institution.<sup>57</sup>

He declares:

Wherefore it is manifest that the sacraments of the Church derive their power specially from Christ's Passion, the virtue of which is in a manner united to us by our receiving the sacraments. It was in sign of this that from the side of Christ hanging on the cross there flowed water and blood, the former of which belongs to Baptism, the latter to the Eucharist, which are the principal sacraments.<sup>58</sup>

Therefore the Passion of Christ is applied unto the living through the Sacraments of the Church.<sup>59</sup> And through these sacraments<sup>60</sup> the members of Christ participate in His priesthood.<sup>61</sup> The sacraments can be said to cause grace because it is through them that man is incorporated into

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<sup>56</sup> S.T., Supplement, Q. 10, A. 4 ad 1.

<sup>57</sup> Ibid., III, Q. 60, A. 4.

<sup>58</sup> Ibid., III, Q. 62, A. 5.

<sup>59</sup> Ibid., III, Q. 52, A. 1-6; Supplement, Q. 17, A. 1; Q. 18, A. 2 ad 2.

<sup>60</sup> Aquinas lists seven sacraments. He explains, "We may likewise gather the number of the sacraments from their being instituted as a remedy against the defect caused by sin. For (1) Baptism is intended as a remedy against the absence of spiritual life; (2) Confirmation, against the infirmity of soul found in those of recent birth; (3) the Eucharist, against the soul's proneness to sin; (4) Penance, against actual sin committed after baptism; (5) Extreme Unction, against the remedies of sin,--of those sins, namely which are not sufficiently removed by Penance, whether through negligence or through ignorance; (6) Order, against divisions in the community; (7) Matrimony, as a remedy against concupiscence in the individual, and against the decrease in members that results from death." Ibid., III, Q. 65, A. 1.

<sup>61</sup> Ibid., III, Q. 63, A. 5.

Christ.<sup>62</sup> They serve as a remedy against sin and "for the perfecting of the soul in things pertaining to the Divine worship."<sup>63</sup> Although all are necessary for salvation in some sense, some are such that there is no salvation without them, and others such that they are conducive to the perfection of salvation.<sup>64,65</sup>

While on the one hand Aquinas insists that Baptism must be accompanied by faith for salvation,<sup>66</sup> on the other hand he sees Baptism as being infused with grace which removes not only past sins, but hinders also the commission of future sins.<sup>67</sup> Before God "he who is baptized, is freed from the debt of all punishment due to him for his sins, just as if he himself had offered sufficient satisfaction for all his sins."<sup>68</sup> Thus Aquinas can at one point insist that "the sacrament of Baptism is the work of God, not of man,"<sup>69</sup> and that its power comes not from

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<sup>62</sup>Ibid., III, Q. 62, A.1.

<sup>63</sup>Ibid., III, Q. 63, A. 1.

<sup>64</sup>Ibid., III, Q. 72, A. 1 ad 3.

<sup>65</sup>Aquinas explains, "In the first way, three sacraments are necessary for salvation. Two of them are necessary to the individual; Baptism, simply and absolutely; Penance, in the case of mortal sin committed after Baptism; while the sacrament of Order is necessary to the Church . . . . But in the second way the other sacraments are necessary. For in a sense Confirmation perfects Baptism; Extreme Unction perfects Penance; while Matrimony, by multiplying them, preserves the numbers in the Church." Ibid., III, Q. 65, A. 4.

<sup>66</sup>Ibid., III, Q. 68, A. 1 and Q. 68, A. 4-8.

<sup>67</sup>Ibid., III, Q. 68, A. 3 ad 3.

<sup>68</sup>Ibid., III, Q. 69, A. 2 ad 3.

<sup>69</sup>Ibid., III, Q. 69, A. 10 ad 1.

the water but from the Holy Ghost,<sup>70</sup> but at another point refer to Baptism as "man's regeneration unto spiritual life"<sup>71</sup> and the second birth,<sup>72</sup> by which man is incorporated into Christ as one of His members.<sup>73</sup>

For Aquinas the Eucharist is the greatest of all the sacraments<sup>74</sup> and the sacrament of "ecclesiastical unity, which is brought about by many being *one in Christ*."<sup>75</sup> The greatness of the Eucharist is derived from the fact that "the entire Christ is in this sacrament;<sup>76</sup> the elements are changed into the body and blood of Christ through the supernatural power of God (transubstantiation), though "the presence of Christ's true body and blood in this sacrament cannot be detected by sense, nor understanding, but by faith alone, which rests upon Divine authority."<sup>77</sup> Thomas insists that the Eucharist is both a sacrament and a sacrifice in both its nature and its effect upon the recipient.<sup>78</sup> It bestows grace,<sup>79</sup> gives spiritual nourishment,<sup>80</sup> and preserves from sin (1) by uniting man with Christ through grace and strengthening his spiritual life

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<sup>70</sup>Ibid., III, Q. 73, A. 1 ad 2.

<sup>71</sup>Ibid., III, Q. 67, A. 3.

<sup>72</sup>Ibid., III, Q. 68, A. 9.

<sup>73</sup>Ibid., III, Q. 69, A. 5.

<sup>74</sup>Ibid., III, Q. 65, A. 3.

<sup>75</sup>Ibid., III, Q. 82, A. 2 ad 3.

<sup>76</sup>Ibid., III, Q. 76, A. 1.

<sup>77</sup>Ibid., III, Q. 75, A. 1.

<sup>78</sup>Ibid., III, Q. 79, A. 5.

<sup>79</sup>Ibid., III, Q. 79, A. 1.

<sup>80</sup>Ibid., III, Q. 79, A. 3.

as well as (2) by repelling all the demonic assaults, inasmuch as it is a sign of Christ's Passion.<sup>81</sup> Although every baptized person has the right to partake, this right may be withheld for some open cause, bodily defilements, or sexual impropriety. But after repentance and reconciliation, communion is no longer to be withheld even to public sinners.<sup>82</sup> And because of the nature of this sacrament Aquinas permits the Church to make other prohibitions such as preventing anyone partaking after eating or drinking.<sup>83</sup>

Issuing from this efficacy of Christ's Passion which he sees contained in the sacraments is Aquinas' view of the authority of the ministry or of the priesthood. Though Christ did not communicate His power of authority (which is His as God) in the sacraments, He did communicate to ministers His power of excellence--belonging to Him as man; thus the merits of the minister can produce the sacramental effect.<sup>84</sup> In using such keys as the power for dispensing the sacraments, the operation of the priest is conformed to God's operation with the priest acting as the instrument of God.<sup>85</sup> Therefore, in offering the Eucharist "the priest is the appointed

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<sup>81</sup> Ibid., III, Q. 79, A. 6.

<sup>82</sup> Ibid., III, Q. 80, A. 6-7.

<sup>83</sup> Ibid., III, Q. 80, A. 8.

<sup>84</sup> Ibid., III, Q. 64, A. 4.

<sup>85</sup> Ibid., Supplement, Q. 17, A. 1 and Supplement, Q. 18, A. 3-4.

intermediary between God and the people."<sup>86</sup> Furthermore, in the celebration of this sacrament the priest not only bears the image of Christ, but "in a measure, the priest and the victim are one and the same."<sup>87</sup>

Fundamental to this view of the ministry is the authority which Aquinas sees as invested in the Church. He states that "the Universal Church cannot err," and claims that what takes place in the court of the Church holds good also in the court of God.<sup>88</sup> But in actual fact Aquinas' system thrusts the Church forward as mediatorial between Christ and the believer, so that the Church usurps the role of Christ as Mediator, becoming as an institution a sacramental organism full of grace and truth.<sup>89</sup> This substitution is evidenced in his statement that

the reality of the sacrament is the unity of the mystical body without which there can be no salvation; for there is no entering into salvation outside the Church, just as in the time of the deluge there was none outside the Ark, which denotes the Church, according to I Peter 3. 20-21.<sup>90</sup>

Thus the Church takes on the mediatorial role and is even given the right to administer indulgences which dispose to grace and provide a remedy against sin.<sup>91</sup> In this way not only

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<sup>86</sup>Ibid., III, Q. 82, A. 2.

<sup>87</sup>Ibid., III, Q. 83, A. 1 ad 3.

<sup>88</sup>Ibid., III, Q. 25, A. 1.

<sup>89</sup>Edward D. Morris, *Theology of the Westminster Symbols* (Columbus, Ohio: Champlin Press, 1960), p. 302; T. F. Torrance, *School*, p. LVII.

<sup>90</sup>*S.T.*, III, Q. 73, A. 2.

<sup>91</sup>Ibid., Supplement, Q. 25, A. 1.



is the place of Christ usurped, but also the place of the Holy Spirit is endangered.<sup>92</sup>

Along with this displacement of Christ's place as the sole Mediator is Aquinas' great error or making God's grace conditional. Following Tertullian's (2nd Century) assumed necessity of adequate repentance before restoration to Christian fellowship (penance issuing from contrition, confession, and satisfaction),<sup>93</sup> Aquinas teaches that penance causes the forgiveness of sins by the power of Christ's Passion.<sup>94</sup> Though God forgives sins and moves man to repent, penance is "an act of man in cooperating with God for his justification."<sup>95</sup> Penance is composed of (1) contrition which adds an act of man to the merit of Christ for each sin,<sup>96</sup> (2) confession by which sin is made known to Christ through His vicar, the priest,<sup>97</sup> and (3) Satisfaction by means of penal works;<sup>98</sup> Aquinas explains:

Hence it is necessary that those who sin after Baptism be likened unto Christ suffering by some form of punishment or suffering which they endure in their own person; yet by the co-operation of Christ's satisfaction much lighter penalty suffices than one that is proportionate to the sin.<sup>99</sup>

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<sup>92</sup>T. F. Torrance, *School*, p. XCIX.

<sup>93</sup>James B. Torrance, "Covenant or Contract? A Study of the Theological Background of Worship in Seventeenth-Century Scotland," *Scottish Journal of Theology*, 23, 1970, p. 57 (Hereafter designated as J. B. Torrance, "Covenant").

<sup>94</sup>*S.T.*, III, Q. 86, A. 6.

<sup>95</sup>*Ibid.*, III, Q. 85, A. 2, ad 2 and Q. 86, A. 2 ad 3.

<sup>96</sup>*Ibid.*, Supplement, Q. 2, A. 6 ad 3.

<sup>97</sup>*Ibid.*, Supplement, Q. 6, A. 1-3.

<sup>98</sup>*Ibid.*, Supplement, Q. 15, A. 1.

<sup>99</sup>*Ibid.*, III, A. 49, A. 3. ad 2.

This teaching assumes on the one hand that God has to be conditioned into being gracious--therefore His grace can be manipulated by the Church in the form of absolution and indulgences--and on the other hand that grace is an entity and one which cannot be given directly by God.<sup>100</sup> Not only is this grace not free, and must be merited, but it must come through the agency of the Church, rather than directly from Christ, the Mediator, whose place is obscured by such discussion of merit and the entire system created by Aquinas.

This theological structure of Aquinas came to dominate the medieval Roman Catholic Church from which the Reformers were forced to revolt. But its tendencies still remain, and when one studies carefully the theological literature of seventeenth century Scotland, he begins to wonder if perhaps there has been a return to some of these same themes, even unconsciously, by sincere professing Protestants.

#### CALVIN AND THE REFORMATION

Although the conflict with which the Reformation began was concerned with the question of an evangelical and faithful understanding of justification and grace, behind this conflict was a struggle to restore to Jesus Christ His central place in the whole life and thought of the Church.<sup>101</sup> In essence Protestantism was a movement

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<sup>100</sup> David Robert Strickland, "Union With Christ in the Theology of Samuel Rutherford; an Examination of his Doctrine of the Holy Spirit" (Ph.D. thesis, University of Edinburgh, 1972), p. 17.

<sup>101</sup> T. F. Torrance, *School*, p. LIX.

for the restoration of Christ and His mediation to the supreme place which had been usurped by the medieval Roman Catholic Church through her doctrines of the Church, the sacraments, and the priesthood. Thus everything centred finally in Christ.<sup>102</sup> Especially in Calvin is this great centrality everywhere evident; in fact, His development of the Person and Work of Christ, with the place given to the obedience of Christ the Servant-Son, stands as one of the greatest contributions to the whole history of Christology.<sup>103</sup> But this observation does not mean that Calvin, or any of the Reformers, was always consistent, and is to be taken as an absolute authority--certainly Calvin would never have sought such recognition. Indeed it may well be that various aspects of the misunderstanding of the Gospel were only partially corrected by the work of men like Augustine and later by the Reformers.<sup>104</sup> Nevertheless, the contribution made by the Reformers, particularly Calvin, in the restoration of the central place of Christ remains virtually unequalled in the theological history of the Church.

In contrast with the medieval theology Calvin was particularly concerned to restore a doctrine of the free and unconditional grace of God. While the medieval view distinguished between nature and grace, with grace

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<sup>102</sup>Morris, pp. 302-303.

<sup>103</sup>T. F. Torrance, *School*, p. LXXX.

<sup>104</sup>Thomas F. Torrance, *The Doctrine of Grace in the Apostolic Fathers* (Edinburgh: Oliver and Boyd, 1948), p. V. (Hereafter designated as T. F. Torrance, *Grace*).

both presupposing and perfecting nature,<sup>105</sup> Calvin insists that all of God's dealings with man, including creation and redemption, are ordered according to the movement of His grace.<sup>106</sup> The great mistake in the past had been to detach the thought of grace from the *person* of Jesus Christ,<sup>107</sup> while the New Testament makes Christ Himself the objective ground and content of χάρις so that grace becomes identical with Him in person, work, and deed.<sup>108</sup> Thus the major contribution of the Reformation in the theology of grace was in its rediscovery of Jesus Christ as the point of reference in all discussions of grace. Grace is experienced only in union with Christ in the Holy Spirit.<sup>109</sup>

For Calvin God is gracious and does not need to be conditioned into being gracious.<sup>110</sup> His dealings with men are in terms of a Covenant whereby He lovingly gives of Himself in the conception, announcement, confirmation, establishment, and fulfillment of the Covenant; He never gives of Himself in terms of conditions by which He becomes obligated in terms of man's response. Contrary

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<sup>105</sup>J. B. Torrance, "Covenant," p. 67.

<sup>106</sup>Ibid., p. 62; Holmes Rolston, III, *John Calvin versus the Westminster Confession* (Richmond, Virginia: John Knox Press, 1972), p. 23.

<sup>107</sup>T. F. Torrance, *Grace*, p. V.

<sup>108</sup>Ibid., p. 21.

<sup>109</sup>Strickland, p. 28.

<sup>110</sup>"God's attitude is unchanged and immutable; it cannot be influenced *a posteriori* by the work of Christ." François Wendel, *Calvin: The Origins and Development of His Religious Thought*, trans. Philip Mairet (London: William Collins Sons & Co., Ltd., 1963), p. 231.

to Tertullian Calvin argues that in the New Testament forgiveness is logically prior to repentance.<sup>111</sup> Because all of God's workings are in grace, Calvin sees the existence of only one covenant of grace which is promised in the Old Testament and fulfilled in Christ,<sup>112</sup> with all the obligations of grace.<sup>113</sup> This one covenant<sup>114</sup> is ratified for us in Christ as an eternal and never-perishing covenant.<sup>115,116</sup> Thus for Calvin the "new covenant" is always in keeping with that which has been God's order from the beginning. Rolston explains, "Calvin's covenant of grace is in reflection of and in restoration of, not in contrast with the original order."<sup>117</sup> Rolston

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<sup>111</sup>J. B. Torrance, "Covenant," pp. 54-55 and 57.

<sup>112</sup>Ibid., p. 62.

<sup>113</sup>Ibid., pp. 70-71; Compare Wendel, p. 209.

<sup>114</sup>Calvin states, "The covenant (*foedus*) made with all the patriarchs is so much like ours in substance and reality that the two are actually one and the same. Yet they differ in the mode of dispensation. John Calvin, *Institutes of the Christian Religion*, trans. Ford Lewis Battles, ed. John T. McNeill (2 vols.; Philadelphia: Westminster Press, 1960), II. 10. 2.

<sup>115</sup>Ibid., II. 11. 4.

<sup>116</sup>Concerning the Old Testament several facts are clear for Calvin: (1) The Old Testament always had its end in Christ (Ibid., II. 10. 4), (2) Christ was known as Mediator before His Incarnation (Ibid., I. 13. 9 and II. 10. 2), (3) The Old Testament saints also belong to the new covenant (Ibid., II. 11. 10), (4) The adoption of the chosen people depended upon the Mediator's grace (Ibid., II. 6.2), and (5) The Old Testament saints "participated in the same inheritance and hoped for a common salvation with us by the same Mediator" (Ibid., II. 10. 1).

<sup>117</sup>Rolston, pp. 33-34. Therefore God's particular revelation in Israel and in Christ is the reaffirming of God's original order, not the establishment of a new and different kind of order.

sees for Calvin the necessity of law only when grace fails; God in His mercy establishes a legal righteousness for those who are blinded to grace and diseased by sin, by laying aside His original, gracious order of things. God establishes the Law to drive man through despair to grace.<sup>118</sup> Thus law is superadded to the covenant of grace because of man's stubborn vanity and rebellion.<sup>119</sup>

And while Calvin holds strongly to the deity of Christ,<sup>120</sup> the necessity of the Mediator's being true God,<sup>121</sup> the hypostatic union,<sup>122</sup> and the communication of properties,<sup>123,124</sup> he and the other Reformers particularly

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<sup>118</sup> Rolston, pp. 59-60. This view admittedly has problems. Condemnation is involved as a "contrary effect of the Law." And although Law does reveal sin, only grace reveals sin emphatically; while law may awaken man to sin it cannot teach of the deepest sin. Rolston explains, "Significantly, though, while Calvin speaks often of the uncovering of sin by law, he never defines sin in terms of law. Logically or theologically, the knowledge of sin follows the knowledge of grace, but experimentally--pedagogically, psychologically--it follows the knowledge of sin." (Rolston, pp. 61-62).

<sup>119</sup> Rolston, pp. 63-64.

<sup>120</sup> *Institutes*, II. 13. 7-13.

<sup>121</sup> John Calvin, *Commentaries on the Epistle of Paul the Apostle to the Hebrews*, ed. and trans. by John Owen (Edinburgh: Calvin Translation Society, 1853), (7:27) p. 177 (Hereafter designated as Calvin, *Hebrews*). *Institutes*, III. 11. 8. Wilhelm Niesel, *Theology of Calvin*, trans. by Harold Knight (London: Lutterworth Press, 1956), p. 118.

<sup>122</sup> *Institutes*, II. 14. 1 and 5.

<sup>123</sup> *Ibid.*, II. 14. 1-2; Wendel, p. 222.

<sup>124</sup> For Calvin both natures are important (*Institutes*, II. 12. 1). He observes that since God alone could not feel death, and man alone could not overcome it, Christ "coupled human nature with divine" to atone for sin and overcome death (*Institutes*, II. 12. 3).

strove for the restoration of the humanity of Christ to that central place it had occupied in the New Testament and the Early Church.<sup>125</sup> Calvin teaches that it is the human nature of Christ which has been made the sole channel through which salvation, life, and power can flow to the Church.<sup>126</sup> And any discussion of merit must refer to the humanity of Christ in its full and necessary place in His life and work as Mediator.<sup>127</sup> All gifts in their fullness consist in all the graces that reside in His human nature.<sup>128</sup>

For Calvin the humanity of Christ is absolutely essential to our salvation. The sin of the world had to be expiated in our flesh,<sup>129</sup> for God requires "that man, who by his disobedience had become lost, should by way of remedy counter it with obedience, satisfy God's judgment, and pay the penalties for sin."<sup>130</sup> Furthermore, it was according to His human nature alone that Christ could offer Himself for us.<sup>131</sup> Therefore, Christ came as true man to take Adam's place in obeying the Father and to pay the penalty of judgment which man deserves from

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<sup>125</sup>T. F. Torrance, "Justification: Its Radical Nature and Place in Reformed Doctrine and Life," *Scottish Journal of Theology*, 13, 1960, p. 244 (Hereafter designated as T. F. Torrance, "Justification").

<sup>126</sup>Ronald S. Wallace, *Calvin's Doctrine of the Christian Life* (Edinburgh: Oliver and Boyd, 1959), p. 16.

<sup>127</sup>T. F. Torrance, *School*, p. LXXXIV.

<sup>128</sup>Wallace, pp. 9-10.

<sup>129</sup>*Institutes*, II. 13. 1.

<sup>130</sup>*Ibid.*, II. 12. 3.

<sup>131</sup>Wendel, p. 260.



God.<sup>132</sup> He became a man, assuming all the qualities of human nature,<sup>133</sup> in order that as the Second Adam He might restore us to that true and complete integrity which was lost in the first Adam.<sup>134</sup> It is through His fellowship with our nature that He raises us out of our low condition with Him into heaven.<sup>135</sup> In fact He has been exalted into heaven in our flesh that "by right of a common nature He might introduce us together with himself into the sanctuary of God."<sup>136</sup>

Because the Mediator has become a man, He is "one of ourselves;" he is near us, in our flesh; He "fashioned for himself a body from our body, flesh from our flesh, bone from our bones, that he might be one with us."<sup>137</sup> He has entered into a "holy brotherhood" with man,<sup>138</sup> becoming a comrade and partner in our very same nature.<sup>139</sup> And this common nature stands as the pledge of our fellowship with Him.<sup>140</sup> By virtue of His human nature Christ stands in solidarity with man and intercedes as man's

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<sup>132</sup> *Institutes*, II. 12. 3.

<sup>133</sup> Calvin, *Hebrews* (4:15), p. 109.

<sup>134</sup> *Institutes*, I. 15. 4 and II. 1. 6.

<sup>135</sup> John Calvin, *Commentaries on the Epistles to Timothy, Titus, and Philemon*, trans. William Pringle (Edinburgh: Calvin Translation Society, 1856), (I Timothy 2:5) p. 57 (Hereafter designated as Calvin, *Timothy*).

<sup>136</sup> *Hebrews*, (2:17) p. 76.

<sup>137</sup> *Institutes*, II. 12. 2.

<sup>138</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>139</sup> *Ibid.*, II. 13. 2.

<sup>140</sup> *Ibid.*, II. 12. 3.



representative before God.<sup>141</sup> Hence for Calvin the Incarnation means that Christ has established an ontological bond with the entire human race (a fraternity of flesh) which serves as the universal presupposition for His atoning work.<sup>142,143</sup>

One point, however, on which Calvin is not quite clear concerns Christ's complete identification with sinful humanity--that is whether Christ assumed the same sinful humanity which we receive from Adam, or whether His humanity is qualitatively distinct in this respect.<sup>144</sup> Calvin is certainly plain in His teaching that Christ

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<sup>141</sup> John Calvin, *Sermons on Isaiah's Prophecy of the Death and Passion of Christ*, ed. and trans. T. H. L. Parker (London: James Clark & Co., Ltd., 1956)), (Isaiah 53:12) p. 147 (Hereafter designated as Calvin, *Isaiah*).

<sup>142</sup> For all the merits of Hendry's *The Gospel of the Incarnation* it appears that the author completely misunderstands this concept in Calvin when he accuses Calvin of failing to integrate Christology and soteriology, and of leaving a fundamental inconsistency between Book III of the *Institutes* and the first two books (Hendry, pp. 68-69).

<sup>143</sup> However, it should be noted that this ontological bond never means universalism for Calvin; it is still necessary for the individual to be joined with Christ by the Holy Spirit, as is shown later.

<sup>144</sup> Athanasius (*De Incarnatione*) had taught that Christ took a body like ours but from a spotless virgin (VIII). Perhaps the strongest teaching concerning the essential identity of the humanity of Christ with ours is found in the writings of Irenaeus. He sees the whole work of salvation as being dependent on this identity. Furthermore, Christ had to pass through and be subjected to all the conditions of a complete human life from birth to old age and death. For Irenaeus the unassumed remains the unredeemed. *The Writings of Irenaeus*, trans. Alexander Roberts and W. H. Rambaist (Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark, 1869), II, pp. 227-278.

assumed our weaknesses,<sup>145</sup> and "that flesh which was addicted to so many wretchednesses."<sup>146</sup> But Calvin stresses that while Christ was tempted as we are in all respects, it was without sinning;<sup>147</sup> he maintains concerning John 3:14:

Even as it was only a serpent in outward appearance and had no infection of poison, so Christ put on the form of sinful flesh which was nevertheless pure and free from sin, to cure in us the deadly wound of sin.<sup>148</sup>

Calvin appears to operate with a tension between "the spotless lamb of God" and Him who became "a sinner, guilty and accursed" for our sakes.<sup>149</sup> On the one hand he wants to emphasize the complete identification of Christ with our humanity,<sup>150</sup> but on the other hand to retain the idea of Christ's purity and holiness.<sup>151,152</sup>

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<sup>145</sup> *Institutes*, II. 16. 12.

<sup>146</sup> John Calvin, *The Gospel According to St. John*, trans. T. H. L. Parker (Edinburgh: Oliver and Boyd, 1959), Chapters 1-10, (John 1:14), p. 20 (Hereafter designated as Calvin, *John*).

<sup>147</sup> *Institutes*, II. 12. 1.

<sup>148</sup> Calvin, *John*, (3:14) p. 72.

<sup>149</sup> Wendel, p. 218.

<sup>150</sup> In a later period Edward Irving was to be excommunicated from the Church of Scotland for teaching that Christ assumed our same sinful humanity. See C. Gordon Strachan, *The Penecostal Theology of Edward Irving* (London: Darton, Longman & Todd, 1973).

<sup>151</sup> It is interesting to note different writers' reactions to Calvin on this point. Wendel (p. 217) states that "Jesus Christ was fully man, and nothing human was unknown to him excepting sin." Similarly Wallace (pp. 62-63) maintains in regard to Calvin, "Certainly, the experience which Jesus had of temptation was different from our own. Our own experience of temptation is always corrupted by concupiscence. The desires of our corrupted nature are always so aroused in answer to the tempting outward circumstances that we have no power to keep ourselves within the limits of obedience. Jesus, however, did not experience this concupiscence. His conflict in His temptation was with the pure 'weakness of nature,' but not with the 'vicious weakness' which is the result of the fall of man."

<sup>152</sup> From the standpoint of exegetical theology this question

Along with Calvin's restoration of the place of the Incarnation and the humanity of Christ is the supreme importance of the doctrine of union with Christ. Through the Incarnation the Mediator calls men to partake of His righteousness;<sup>153</sup> because He took our nature He imparts to us what is His.<sup>154</sup> Since He has become one with the race of mankind all are summoned to become of one flesh with Him in a real and substantial union.<sup>155</sup> But Calvin stresses that the benefits of Christ cannot be separated from His Person; he states:

But since Christ has been so imparted to you with all his benefits that all things are made yours, that you are a member of him, indeed one with him, his righteousness overwhelms your sins; his salvation wipes out your condemnation; with his worthiness he intercedes that your unworthiness may not come before God's sight.<sup>156</sup>

By this relationship of union with Christ "all that he has is made common to us and is made over to us."<sup>157</sup>

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is also very difficult. On the one hand certain passages demonstrate the purity of Christ:

Hebrews 4:15--Christ "was in all points tempted like as we are, yet without sin."

I Peter 2:22--"Who did no sin, neither was guile found in his mouth."

But on the other hand certain passages demonstrate the radical solidarity of Christ with man in his sinful condition:

Isaiah 53:6--"the Lord hath laid on him the iniquity of us all."

II Corinthians 5:21--"For he hath made him to be sin for us, who knew no sin."

The way in which one answers this question greatly affects the significance given both to the baptism of Christ and His temptations in the wilderness.

<sup>153</sup> Calvin, *Isaiah*, (53:11) p. 122.

<sup>154</sup> *Institutes*, II. 12. 3.

<sup>155</sup> Wallace, pp. 17-18. Wallace notes that Calvin prefers to speak of our being saved *in* Christ, rather than *by* Christ, since the former phrase denotes union with Christ more fully.

<sup>156</sup> *Institutes*, III, 2. 24.

<sup>157</sup> Calvin, *Isaiah*, (53:11) p. 130.

But these benefits are never enjoyed by anyone outside of union with Himself; He gives Himself and His benefits together, never separately,<sup>158</sup> Thus Calvin strongly insists that for Christ's benefits to be applied to an individual, he must be ingrafted into Christ by faith.<sup>159</sup> Both our adoption<sup>160</sup> and our participation in the sanctification of Christ depend upon our union with Him.<sup>161</sup> The individual, then, must be personally related to the death and resurrection of Christ, and this experience is through the Word and the Sacraments of the Church as one finds himself personally confronted by Christ and is enabled to apply to himself the virtue of His atoning work.<sup>162</sup> From the point of view of the subject it is faith which is the bond of union between Christ and His people though it is the Holy Spirit who creates faith,<sup>163</sup> without which this union cannot be effected.<sup>164</sup> And by virtue of this union the believer has by adoption what Christ alone has by nature.<sup>165</sup> One's sins are covered by Christ's righteous-

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<sup>158</sup>Wendel, p. 158.

<sup>159</sup>John Calvin, *The Epistle of Paul the Apostle to the Romans and to the Thessalonians*, trans. Ross Mackenzie (Edinburgh: Oliver and Boyd, 1960), (Romans 5:17) p. 117 (Hereafter designated as Calvin, *Romans*). Calvin states emphatically that "Christ's benefit does not come to all men in the manner in which Adam involved his whole race in condemnation." Cf. Wendel, pp. 234 and 238.

<sup>160</sup>Calvin, *John*, (1:12) p. 18.

<sup>161</sup>Wallace, p. 17.

<sup>162</sup>*Ibid.*, p. 212.

<sup>163</sup>*Ibid.*, pp. 21-22.

<sup>164</sup>*Ibid.*, p. 18.

<sup>165</sup>*Isaiah*, (53:9-10) p. 114.

ness, his works are accounted righteous before God, no fault is charged to his account,<sup>166</sup> and he is admitted as an adopted child into the family of God with an inheritance and a right to share in the goodness of the creation.<sup>167</sup>

It becomes obvious for Calvin that along with this emphasis on union with Christ there must be also the proper emphasis on the work of the Holy Spirit. His theology of the Spirit is disassociated from any absolute identity with the Church because it is no longer considered the container or dispenser of grace.<sup>168</sup> It is the Spirit who alone makes the death of Christ efficacious for our cleansing, mortifies our flesh and self-will,<sup>169</sup> and causes the Word to be effectual when it is proclaimed.<sup>170</sup> And because the principal work of the Spirit is the creation of faith in the heart, the Reformer can use the same language in relating union with Christ to faith as he does in relating it to the Holy Spirit. Thus the movement of faith is reciprocal to the movement of the Spirit who brings the heavenly grace of Christ into the heart.<sup>171</sup> Therefore the Spirit is the bond of our union with Christ,<sup>172</sup> and is sometimes described by the Reformers as playing the

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<sup>166</sup> *Institutes*, III. 17. 10.

<sup>167</sup> Wallace, pp. 131-132.

<sup>168</sup> Strickland, pp. 7-8.

<sup>169</sup> Wallace, p. 66.

<sup>170</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 209.

<sup>171</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 21-23.

<sup>172</sup> Wendel, p. 351.

part of an obligatory mediator between Christ and man; that is, He is an instrument through which Christ's redemption reaches us.<sup>173</sup> It is also clear that for Calvin this work of the Spirit in sanctifying and renewing is absolutely essential for one's salvation.<sup>174</sup>

In his teaching concerning man Calvin first observes that man as created is the most remarkable example of God's justice, wisdom, and goodness.<sup>175</sup> He is constituted as a being formed for grace, who needs communion with a gracious God.<sup>176</sup> He is gifted with life in felicity and because of that which God has done for man, gratitude is evoked.<sup>177</sup> But man by his sin has dis-ordered the divine order of grace, manufacturing sin out of grace.<sup>178</sup> Although man is faithless, disobedient, self-willed, and unthankful,<sup>179</sup> God's purposes are not altered, but are restricted in design and wish.<sup>180</sup> Man is guilty because he trusts in his own works and not in God, out of his own self-willed obedience to the Law.<sup>181</sup> And although God is responsible in proffering man his care, "man

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<sup>173</sup> Ibid., pp. 239-240.

<sup>174</sup> *Institutes*, IV. 15. 6.

<sup>175</sup> Ibid., I. 15. 1-2.

<sup>176</sup> Rolston, p. 116.

<sup>177</sup> Ibid., pp. 24-25.

<sup>178</sup> Ibid., pp. 26 and 28.

<sup>179</sup> Ibid., pp. 49-53.

<sup>180</sup> Ibid., pp. 27-28.

<sup>181</sup> Ibid., pp. 67 and 71.

culpably ignores Him, blinded by his delusions of autonomous responsibility."<sup>182</sup> The natural man is guilty because He thwarts divine grace, assumes responsibility for himself, and mistakes God's character in His own self-will and presumption.<sup>183</sup> When God gives the Law man is made consciously inexcusable because he has rejected both God's gracious invitation in nature all around him and then rejects God's gracious accommodation to him in law.<sup>184</sup>

In contrast to man's sinful condition is God's righteousness which is that in His nature which demands a return to the government He has instituted for man. This demand is for a return to an order of grace, as God's righteousness fights to redeem man,<sup>185</sup> restoring him to the primal order in which unfallen Adam stood as he received righteousness from God. All man's righteousness must always be borrowed from God, its source. Man is therefore condemned, not because he has no inherent righteousness, but because he in his sin shuts off the divine fountain of righteousness and proposes to manufacture a righteousness of his own--hence, he is "shut up in his own legal, impossible way of self-righteousness." The Law was given only to lead man out of himself and to let

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<sup>182</sup>Ibid., p. 99.

<sup>183</sup>Ibid., pp. 105-106.

<sup>184</sup>Ibid., pp. 107-108.

<sup>185</sup>Ibid., pp. 73-75.



God re-establish His original righteousness.<sup>186</sup> There is a sense too where righteousness is a reaction in God against sin and has to be vindicated by means of a certain satisfaction. Where it finds not righteousness in man it condemns and brings judgment. Although God's pattern for righteousness was law in grace, not law alone, the legal promises remains when man falls into the path of self-righteousness. When Calvin teaches that the law reveals the righteousness of God, he means that law alone shows us all that righteousness<sup>draws</sup>, not that law shows us all that God's righteousness does. Therefore, Calvin speaks of the single activity of the divine righteousness as having the double and opposite outcome, mercy and judgment.<sup>187</sup> With Calvin there is an equilibrium held between the justice and mercy of God, not a tension, and there is no need for two covenants opposed one to the other. When the man of faith is given righteousness God is only doing that which He set out to do in the beginning. God appears as He must in the legal promise only to drive us out of the impossible way of self-justification by showing us our delusion and inability. Then he shows us the full character of His righteousness by which we are preserved and most graciously supported.<sup>188</sup>

For the Reformer man's conditon requires a Mediator, "for there has always been between God and man a distance

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<sup>186</sup> Ibid., pp. 76-77.

<sup>187</sup> Ibid., pp. 78-79.

<sup>188</sup> Ibid., pp. 84-85.



too great for any communication to be possible without a Mediator."<sup>189</sup> Calvin is even clearer on this necessity when he writes:

So great was the disagreement between our uncleanness and God's perfect purity! Even if man had remained free from all stain, his condition would have been too lowly for him to reach God without a Mediator. What, then, of man: plunged by his mortal ruin into death and hell, defiled with so many spots, befouled with his own corruption, and overwhelmed with every curse?<sup>190</sup>

The fact that unfallen man needed a Mediator suggests an epistemological necessity for Christ's mediation because of man's creaturliness which leaves him so far from God that direct communication is impossible.<sup>191</sup> Therefore, Christ took upon Himself the person and office of the Mediator to join us to God.<sup>192</sup>

In opposition to the medieval Church Calvin was most especially concerned to teach the doctrine of the sole mediation and the sole priesthood of Christ.<sup>193</sup> Because Christ's office as Mediator repudiates all others

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<sup>189</sup> John Calvin, *Calvin: Commentaries*, ed. Joseph Haroutunian and Louise Pettibone Smith (London: S.C.M. Press, Ltd., 1958), (Genesis 48:16) p. 148 (Hereafter designated as Calvin, *Commentaries*).

<sup>190</sup> *Institutes*, II. 12. 1.

<sup>191</sup> It must be admitted, however that Calvin is not always consistent on this point. In describing the final kingdom Calvin asserts that "when as partakers in heavenly glory we shall see God as he is, Christ, having then discharged the office of the Mediator, will cease to be the ambassador of the Father, and will be satisfied with that glory which he enjoyed before the creation of the world." *Institutes*, II. 14. 3. One possible explanation is that the fully redeemed man for Calvin may be so far superior to Adam in his integrity that this epistemological need for a Mediator will no longer exist for him.

<sup>192</sup> *Institutes*, I. 13. 24.

<sup>193</sup> J. B. Torrance, "Covenant," p. 73.

from this office,<sup>194</sup> the Reformer has extremely harsh words for the Roman Catholic Church of his day for making apostles and martyrs to share with Christ as Mediators in the work of intercession.<sup>195</sup> And since Christianity is distinguished from all other religions by this need of an intermediary between God and man,<sup>196</sup> Calvin is anxious that it be known that the priestly office belongs to Christ alone; there would be no priest to intercede with God for us had He not come as our priest and sacrifice.<sup>197</sup>

The different aspects of Christ's work as Mediator are summed up in the three offices or ministries of Christ as prophet, priest, and king.<sup>198</sup> (1) The prophetic office is related particularly by Calvin to teaching and giving oral witness to the Father's word. And His prophetic dignity assures us that His doctrine contains perfect wisdom in all parts, for Christ was "anointed by the Spirit to be herald and witness of the Father's grace," in a special and unique sense from all others occupying any kind of teaching capacity.<sup>199</sup> (2) The kingly office of Christ, which began with His humiliation,<sup>200</sup> extends to both the good and the wicked,<sup>201</sup> in that Christ carries a

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<sup>194</sup> Calvin, *Hebrews*, (9:15) p. 206.

<sup>195</sup> *Ibid.*, (8:3) p. 181.

<sup>196</sup> Wendel, pp. 216-217.

<sup>197</sup> *Institutes*, II. 15. 6.

<sup>198</sup> *Institutes*, II. 15. 2; Wendel p. 225.

<sup>199</sup> *Ibid.*, II. 15. 2.

<sup>200</sup> Calvin, *Commentaries*, (Isaiah 53:12) p. 135.

<sup>201</sup> Wendel, pp. 225-226.

rod of iron to punish the disobedient.<sup>202</sup> In particular the kingship of Christ applies to His whole body, the Church, and each individual believer.<sup>203</sup> It is a spiritual kingdom demanding that the believer forsake the world, but it gives great comfort and assurance throughout life.<sup>204</sup>

(3) Especially related to His mediatorial capacity is Christ's eternal priesthood which has forever abolished the Old Testament priesthood,<sup>205</sup> and is more excellent than that of Aaron because Christ is the Mediator of a better covenant.<sup>206</sup> As it was the duty of the High Priest to stand in solidarity with all Israel as her representative before God, so Christ has taken upon Himself human nature to intercede for man as his representative before God.<sup>207</sup> By His holiness Christ reconciles us to God, rendering the

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<sup>202</sup>*Institutes*, II. 15. 5.

<sup>203</sup>*Ibid.*, II. 15. 3.

<sup>204</sup>*Ibid.*, II. 15. 4-5. Calvin states, "Thus it is that we may patiently pass through this life with its misery, hunger, cold, contempt, reproaches, and other troubles--content with this one thing: that our King will never leave us destitute, but will provide for our needs until our warfare ended, we are called to triumph. Such is the nature of his rule, that he shares with us all that he has received from the Father. Now he arms and equips us with his beauty and magnificence, enriches us with his glory, and also provides us with confidence to struggle fearlessly against the devil, sin, and death. Finally, clothed with his righteousness, we can valiantly rise above all the world's reproaches; and just as he himself freely lavishes his gifts upon us, so may we, in return, bring forth fruit to his glory."

<sup>205</sup>*Institutes*, II. 11. 4; Calvin, *Hebrews*, (8:3-4) pp. 180-182.

<sup>206</sup>Calvin, *Hebrews*, (8:6) p. 184.

<sup>207</sup>Calvin, *Isaiah*, (53:12) p. 147.

Father favourable and propitious toward us and receives us as His companions in this priestly office.<sup>208</sup> Christ is not only the priest to present an offering to God, but the sacrifice which is offered as well.<sup>209</sup> Therefore, it was in His death and passion that Christ especially bore the priestly office.<sup>210</sup> And although the ancient priesthood had to do with external rites, Christ's priesthood, which is according to the order of Melchisedec,<sup>211</sup> is entirely spiritual<sup>212</sup> and celestial,<sup>213</sup> with our salvation being the fruit of this eternal priesthood.<sup>214</sup>

In addition to the once-for-all character of Christ's priestly work is His continual intercession by which our prayers are heard--through His mediation and advocacy.<sup>215</sup> Therefore, prayer is founded upon Jesus Christ and Him alone; it can find no support in ourselves or anyone else.<sup>216</sup> Our worship can be offered only through His mediation in which He cleanses and sprinkles our prayers with his blood.<sup>217</sup> In fact, Calvin

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<sup>208</sup> *Institutes*, II. 15. 6.

<sup>209</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>210</sup> Calvin, *Isaiah*, (53:12) pp. 143 and 147.

<sup>211</sup> Like Melchisedec Christ is (1) King of righteousness, (2) King of Peace, (3) without human descent or kindred, (4) was presented tithes by Abraham, and (5) blessed Abraham. Calvin, *Hebrews*, (7:1-7) pp. 156-161.

<sup>212</sup> *Ibid.*, (7:15) p. 169.

<sup>213</sup> *Ibid.*, (8:1) p. 179.

<sup>214</sup> *Ibid.*, (7:25) p. 174.

<sup>215</sup> Calvin, *Isaiah*, (53:12) p. 150.

<sup>216</sup> Wendel, p. 253.

<sup>217</sup> *Institutes*, III. 20. 27; *Isaiah*, (53:12) p. 148; *Hebrews*, (9:18-19) p. 210.

considers Jesus as the leader of our worship; he writes:

So there is no doubt there we are joined in this prayer and in all the praises of God, and that Jesus gives us the note, so to say, and acts the part of the precentor who leads us in our prayers, and that by his means there is heard but one voice, and one united voice singing in the melody in time.<sup>218</sup>

Hence all intercessions of the whole church are to be directed to His sole intercession.<sup>219</sup> And while in ourselves we are defiled, in Christ we are priests who may freely enter the heavenly sanctuary with prayers and praise which is acceptable to God because of Him.<sup>220</sup> This intercession of Christ is everlasting<sup>221</sup> whereby He appears before the Father as our advocate and intercessor,<sup>222</sup> clothed in our flesh.<sup>223</sup> And because we need daily to be reconciled to God through the Mediator,<sup>224</sup> Christ daily forgives our sins by His blood<sup>225</sup> which is

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<sup>218</sup> Calvin, *Isaiah*, (53:12) pp. 145-146.

<sup>219</sup> *Institutes*, III. 20. 20. Calvin refers to the teaching of the Sophists "that Christ is the Mediator of redemption, but believers are mediators of intercession," as "nonsensical babbling."

<sup>220</sup> *Institutes*, II. 15. 16.

<sup>221</sup> It appears that Wallace (p. 275) misunderstands the continuing nature of Christ's intercession for Calvin. He asserts, "Indeed when we think of the intercession of Christ, we are not meant to imagine that Christ is continually on his knees before the Father imploring for His people, but simply that 'He appears in the presence of God and that the power of His death has the effect of a perpetual intercession for us' (*Institutes*, III. 20. 20)." For Calvin Christ is in heaven in His body interceding for us now. See *Hebrews*, (9:11) p. 202; (7:23-24) p. 175.

<sup>222</sup> *Institutes*, II. 16. 16.

<sup>223</sup> Calvin, *Hebrews*, (9:11) p. 202.

<sup>224</sup> Calvin, *Isaiah*, (53:12) p. 151.

<sup>225</sup> *Ibid.*, (53:1-4) p. 63.

always new and powerful in our behalf.<sup>226</sup> Apart from His intercession neither we nor our prayers have any access to God,<sup>227</sup> but in Him we can come with full assurance and all boldness knowing that we will be accepted.<sup>228</sup>

Only in Christ is God known as Redeemer and seen as favourable to man;<sup>229</sup> in Him all God's promises proceed from His love for us, "but apart from Christ we are more hateful than acceptable to Him."<sup>230</sup> Furthermore it is stated categorically by the Reformer that "since the beginning of the world God has held no communication with man but through the intervention of His eternal Wisdom or Son."<sup>231</sup> Only through the intermediation of Jesus Christ can the love of God be known and apprehended by man.<sup>232</sup> He Himself is the foundation of all the promises of God.<sup>233</sup> Because of this Christocentric approach Calvin observes that the sole purpose of theology is to

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<sup>226</sup> Ibid., (53:4-6) p. 82.

<sup>227</sup> *Institutes*, II. 15. 6.

<sup>228</sup> Calvin, *Isaiāh*, (53:12) p. 147.

<sup>229</sup> *Institutes*, I. 2. 1 and I. 6. 1.

<sup>230</sup> John Calvin, *The Second Epistle of Paul the Apostle to the Corinthians and the Epistles to Timothy, Titus and Philemon*, trans. T. A. Smail (Edinburgh: Oliver & Boyd, 1964), (II Corinthians 1:20) p. 22 (Hereafter designated as Calvin, *II Corinthians*).

<sup>231</sup> John Calvin, *The Epistles of Paul the Apostle to the Galatians, Ephesians, Philippians, and Colossians*, trans. T. H. L. Parker (Edinburgh: Oliver and Boyd, 1965), (Galatians 3:19) p. 62 (Hereafter designated as Calvin, *Galatians*).

<sup>232</sup> Wendel, p. 230.

<sup>233</sup> Calvin, *II Corinthians*, (1:20) p. 21.

guide believers in the quest for Christ through all the Biblical writings.<sup>234</sup>

In Christ was established the love of God for men even before the creation of the world.<sup>235,236</sup> Before Adam fell God had anticipated his reconciliation in Christ,<sup>237</sup> and Christ was then sacrificed by the counsel of God.<sup>238</sup> In explaining the purpose of God the Reformer carefully suggests, "God could certainly save us without any means, but we must always take it as basic that life had to be won for us by Jesus Christ."<sup>239</sup> Thus it is that only through the mercy of God are we reconciled to our Creator, out of His bountiful love toward us; Calvin writes concerning John 3:16:

The word *only begotten* is emphasized, to praise the fervour of the divine love towards us. For men are not easily convinced that God loves them; and so, to remove all doubt, He has expressly stated that we are so very dear to God that for our sakes He did not spare even His only begotten Son.<sup>240</sup>

For the Reformer the glory of God shines forth most in

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<sup>234</sup>Wendel, p. 215.

<sup>235</sup>*Institutes*, II. 16. 4.

<sup>236</sup>Rolston argues that for Calvin the genuine relation of man to his Creator is that of a father to a son, not that of a king to his subjects. He asserts, "Calvin will often make this distinction: that God was known first as *Creator* and afterward only by the elect as *Redeemer*. But he does not say, as we now see later theology so carefully say, that God was known first as *Creator* Lord and only afterward by the elect as Father (pp. 87-88).

<sup>237</sup>*Institutes*, II. 16. 3.

<sup>238</sup>Calvin, *Isaiah*, (53:7-8) p. 95.

<sup>239</sup>*Ibid.*, (53:9-10) pp. 115 and 125.

<sup>240</sup>Calvin, *John*, (3:16) pp. 73-74.



His free and spontaneous grace, for God "seeks rather to win us by love, than compel us by threats."<sup>241</sup> And it is gratitude, not fear, which creates in us an all-consuming desire to do the will of God, giving us both patience in tribulation and power to overcome evil.<sup>242</sup>

God sent Christ to be our substitute, to take our nature and to pay the price of satisfaction to God's righteous judgment and the penalty that we deserved.<sup>243</sup> Christ was afflicted in our place,<sup>244</sup> was made a curse for us before both God and man,<sup>245</sup> was burdened with our sin,<sup>246</sup> and bore the judgment of God in our place.<sup>247</sup> In our flesh He was made a sacrifice to appease the Father on our behalf.<sup>248</sup>

In His atoning work Christ acted not only as our substitute, but also, and perhaps more fundamentally, as our representative in the deepest sense of the word.<sup>249</sup> As the Second Adam Christ came to restore everything which had been brought to ruin in Adam;<sup>250</sup> hence Adam and Christ

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<sup>241</sup>Wallace, pp. 34-35.

<sup>242</sup>Ibid. p. 224.

<sup>243</sup>*Institutes*, II. 12. 3.

<sup>244</sup>Calvin, *Isaiah*, (53:9-10) pp. 106-109.

<sup>245</sup>Ibid., (52:13-53:1) p. 34.

<sup>246</sup>Ibid., (53:9-10) p. 109.

<sup>247</sup>Ibid., (53:4-6) p. 69.

<sup>248</sup>*Institutes*, II. 12. 4.

<sup>249</sup>Wallace, p. 13.

<sup>250</sup>John Calvin, *The First Epistle of Paul the Apostle to the Corinthians*, trans. John W. Fraser (Edinburgh: Oliver & Boyd, 1960), (I Corinthians 15:22) p. 323 (Hereafter designated as Calvin, *I Corinthians*).



are the two origins or roots of the human race.<sup>251</sup> As the sin of Adam has destroyed many, the righteousness of Christ will be no less effective for the salvation of many.<sup>252</sup> And

since Christ surpasses Adam, the sin of Adam is overcome by the righteousness of Christ. The curse of Adam is overturned by the grace of Christ, and the life which Christ bestows swallows up the death which came from Adam.<sup>253</sup>

Christ has accomplished what we ought to have done,<sup>254</sup> standing in our name before God; therefore, because of this association or representation it is proper to speak of that which has been fulfilled in Christ as having been actually fulfilled already in all His members.<sup>255</sup> For Calvin Christ is our representative especially according to His human nature, in which He stands in solidarity with the entire race; thus what He did as the Second Adam we did in Him as though we ourselves had offered that obedience He rendered to the Father. It should be emphasized also that this is a dual representation, for Christ represents both men before God and God before men, as did the High Priest of the Old Testament.

All the work of Christ and the promises of God tend to one great end for the Reformer, that God might adopt us as His sons.<sup>256</sup> The Covenant of grace is designed

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<sup>251</sup>Ibid., (5:45) p. 339.

<sup>252</sup>Calvin, *Romans*, (5:15) p. 115.

<sup>253</sup>Ibid., (5:17) p. 116.

<sup>254</sup>Wendel, p. 260.

<sup>255</sup>Wallace, pp. 12-13.

<sup>256</sup>Calvin, *II Corinthians*, (1:20) p. 22.

to bring us to adoption as children and make us heirs of eternal life.<sup>257</sup> But Calvin cautions that no one can ever experience the Fatherhood of God except through the Mediator;<sup>258</sup> only through Christ can men become the children of God again.<sup>259,260</sup> In Him we who are the children of men and heirs of Gehenna are made children of God and heirs of the heavenly kingdom.<sup>261</sup> Through His sufferings we are made to feel the fatherly love of God and given peace and assurance in our hearts.<sup>262</sup>

In addition to this filial emphasis is Calvin's teaching concerning our legal standing before God. He speaks of Jesus as the legal substitute who has taken the place of the accused to meet the condemnation of the judge and satisfy the law.<sup>263</sup> In Christ we receive justification which refers to our station before God, involving the communication of Christ's righteousness to us by imputation in such a way that despite our sinfulness we once-for-all are made to possess His righteousness as our own.<sup>264</sup> Calvin writes joyfully:

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<sup>257</sup> *Hebrews*, (9:15) p. 207.

<sup>258</sup> *Institutes*, I. 2. 1.

<sup>259</sup> Wendel, pp. 216-218.

<sup>260</sup> Calvin states emphatically in this regard that "to neither angels nor men was God ever Father, except with regard to his only-begotten Son." *Institutes*, II. 14. 5.

<sup>261</sup> *Institutes*, II. 12. 2.

<sup>262</sup> Calvin, *Isaiah*, (53:11) p. 124.

<sup>263</sup> Wallace, p. 5.

<sup>264</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 24.

But since Christ has been so imparted to you with all his benefits that all things are made yours, that you are made a member of him, indeed one with him, his righteousness overwhelms your sins; his salvation wipes out your condemnation; with his worthiness he intercedes that your unworthiness may not come before God's sight.<sup>265</sup>

It is Christ who justifies us by the power of His death and resurrection,<sup>266</sup> and it is He who settles our account before God, restoring peace that we may with liberty and boldness call upon God as our Father.<sup>267</sup>

In his treatment of soteriology it is probably true that nowhere is Calvin more misunderstood than in his concept of election and predestination where his Christocentricity is very often overlooked. The Reformer insists that election is founded on Christ,<sup>268</sup> and He is a mirror of our election.<sup>269</sup> His appointment as the Mediator is seen as the most illustrious example of predestination by Calvin.<sup>270</sup> In Him election is sealed, and the one who is united to Him no longer has any reason for long speculations about his election nor any reason to look within for assurance of election.<sup>271</sup> For Calvin Christ is the Agent, the Matter, and the Substance of election. And though the doctrine is a mystery it reposes on the mystery of God

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<sup>265</sup> *Institutes*, III. 2. 24.

<sup>266</sup> *Ibid.*, III. 11. 8.

<sup>267</sup> Calvin, *Isaiah*, (53:4-6) p. 72.

<sup>268</sup> Wendel, p. 231.

<sup>269</sup> John Calvin, *Concerning the Eternal Predestination of God*, trans. by J. K. S. Reid (London: James Clarke & Co. Limited, 1961), pp. 64, 112, 127 (Hereafter designated as *Predestination*); Donald Leonard Faris, "The Nature of Theological Inquiry as Raised by the Conflict of the Teaching of McLeod Campbell and Westminster Theology" (Ph.D. thesis, University of Edinburgh, 1967), p. 269.

<sup>270</sup> *Institutes*, II. 17. 1.

<sup>271</sup> Wendel, pp. 274-275.

revealed in Christ. At present there may appear to be a two-fold will of God for salvation and reprobation, but at the *Parousia* it will be revealed that there was only one divine will for our salvation. Calvin lays stress on "the hidden cause," the grace of God, in election and on "the manifest cause," man's rebellion or unbelief, in reprobation. And Calvin refuses to think out this problem systematically. However, it must be admitted that in Calvin, particularly in his polemical works, there is a tendency toward abstracting the work of God in election from the work of Christ.<sup>272</sup> But this tendency should never be allowed to obscure his great emphasis on both the grace of God and the place of Christ in God's predestination and election.<sup>273</sup>

Certainly for the Reformer man's entire salvation issues solely from the grace of God. The merit of Christ is opposed to all human righteousness,<sup>274</sup> and even to the end of life believers have no other righteousness than that of Christ.<sup>275</sup> Calvin teaches clearly that salvation is by grace and is never earned by virtue of man's faith and repentance.<sup>276</sup> Therefore man does not achieve felicity,

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<sup>272</sup> T. F. Torrance, *School*, pp. LXXVII-LXXVIII.

<sup>273</sup> Perhaps it should be added that Calvin does teach that sanctification will most certainly flow from election and will produce the fruits of goodness. Wallace, p. 199. Therefore as signs of our election are the personal response to the Word (Wallace, p. 214) and purity of life. But these are inferior aids, or props to our faith, not a foundation on which it rests (Wallace, p. 301).

<sup>274</sup> *Institutes*, II. 17. 1.

<sup>275</sup> *Ibid.*, III, 14. 11-12.

<sup>276</sup> *Ibid.*, III. 3. 1 and III. 3. 20.

but receives it from God.<sup>277</sup> Calvin attempts to tie the human will to divine grace; therefore, man has no power in himself after the fall, but can choose good only as he is empowered by God.<sup>278</sup> Man is both free and yet enveloped in grace; when the will forsakes the grace of God it finds death, not freedom. And although all problems concerning the responsibility of man are not solved, the Reformer maintains that man is allocated responsibility only within creaturehood and sonship.<sup>279</sup> God in His own freedom chose to create men and to care for Him, and even when man sins God does not forsake him. Rather, His obligation for man is deepened as He now must provide for man's redemption. In both creation and again in redemption man is to receive life from His Father; he is a dependent being, made for responsible co-correspondence. Both in Adam and in Christ men are given a subordinate and derived responsibility which they may either accept or reject. Responsible correspondence in God brings perfect freedom because in it man can glorify God,<sup>280</sup> but the responsible man in this correspondence can claim nothing for himself, but must rest in his union with God.<sup>281</sup>

For Calvin the active obedience of Christ whereby

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<sup>277</sup> Rolson, pp. 91-92.

<sup>278</sup> Ibid., pp. 93-95.

<sup>279</sup> Ibid., pp. 95-97.

<sup>280</sup> Ibid., pp. 97-98.

<sup>281</sup> Ibid., p. 105.

He fulfilled all the righteous will of God on our behalf is most important. He suffered willingly for us,<sup>282</sup> taking the form of a servant to render the obedience that God required as a reparation for our sins.<sup>283</sup> The "whole course of his obedience" serves to abolish sin, reconcile God and man, and acquire righteousness to render God favourable and kindly toward us.<sup>284</sup> As a part of Christ's life which is lived in our place is the prayer-life of Jesus which has within it saving efficacy.<sup>285</sup> Thus everything which Christ did during His earthly ministry contributes to the perfection of our salvation.

Christ's obedience, however, is consummated in His obedience unto death. In order for Christ to make satisfaction for our sins He had to be arraigned before the judgment seat as a criminal, accused by testimony and condemned to die at the mouth of the judge.<sup>286</sup> He became a sacrificial victim for our redemption, ransom, and propitiation,<sup>287</sup> suffered complete ignominy,<sup>288</sup> and endured the severity of God's vengeance to appease His wrath and satisfy His righteous judgment.<sup>289</sup> His disgrace

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<sup>282</sup> Calvin, *Isaiah*, (53:9-10) p. 110 and *Institutes*, III. 16. 5 and 12.

<sup>283</sup> Calvin, *Isaiah*, (53:11) p. 125.

<sup>284</sup> *Institutes*, II. 16. 5.

<sup>285</sup> T. F. Torrance, *School*, p. LXXXI.

<sup>286</sup> *Institutes*, II. 16. 5.

<sup>287</sup> *Ibid.*, II. 16. 6-7.

<sup>288</sup> Calvin, *Isaiah*, (53:1-4) pp. 51-52 and 57.

<sup>289</sup> *Institutes*, II. 16. 10. Calvin adds that Christ had to "grapple hand to hand with the armies of hell and the dread of everlasting death."

frees us from all condemnation,<sup>290</sup> because it is impossible for God to judge those sins for which Christ has already atoned in our place.<sup>291</sup>

Also as in integral part of Christ's work, for Calvin, is the vicarious self-sanctifying of Christ in His humanity, on our behalf and in our place.<sup>292</sup> This perfecting of His own self-sanctification applies especially to Christ's death in which He prepares Himself for His eternal priesthood, but His whole life is also included as He sanctified our humanity in Himself.<sup>293</sup>

It is in the sufferings of Christ that there is revealed to us the enormity of our sins and the punishment we deserve,<sup>294</sup> as well as the greatness of God's anger against sin.<sup>295</sup> And it is in Christ that the true order in man's relationship to this world has been restored,<sup>296</sup> for He won a new empire in our nature, as the Mediator.<sup>297</sup> Calvin also asserts that our condition in Christ is far superior to the estate of the first man, "because a living soul was given to Adam for himself and for his posterity, but Christ, on the other hand, has brought us the Spirit who is life."<sup>298</sup> In Christ there is cleansing from all

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<sup>290</sup> Ibid., II. 16. 11.

<sup>291</sup> *Isaiah*, (53:4-6) pp. 69-72.

<sup>292</sup> Calvin, *Hebrews*, (5:9) p. 125.

<sup>293</sup> Wallace, p. 6.

<sup>294</sup> Calvin, *Isaiah*, (53:9-10) p. 107.

<sup>295</sup> Ibid., (53:4-6) p. 72. <sup>296</sup> Wallace, p. 131.

<sup>297</sup> Calvin, *Isaiah*, (53:11) p. 124.

<sup>298</sup> Calvin, *I Corinthians*, (15:45) p. 339.



sin,<sup>299</sup> and a universal atonement for all men.<sup>300</sup> His cross means not only that He has conquered the devil, but also that we are acquitted from all condemnation and that neither sin nor any of the devils in hell can have dominion over us.<sup>301</sup>

It is through the work of Christ that we are given both sanctification and justification, which proceed from our union with Him. Though they share this same source they are logically distinct;<sup>302</sup> nevertheless, they can never be separated in experience, for they exist in an indivisible unity in the person of Christ so that no one can ever experience one without the other.<sup>303</sup> Sanctification

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<sup>299</sup> *Institutes*, II. 17. 3 and 6.

<sup>300</sup> Calvin attempts to avoid a concept of limited atonement which is often either attributed to him or called by his name. He states (1) that Christ put Himself in the place of all sinners (*Isaiah*, [53:4-6], p. 70), (2) that He "bore all the wickedness and all the iniquities of the world" (*Ibid.*, [53:4-6] p. 74), (3) that "our Lord Jesus suffered for all and there is neither great nor small who is not inexcusable today, for we can obtain salvation in him" (*Ibid.*, [53:12] p. 141), (4) that the Mediator was given "not only to one nation, or to a small number of some particular rank, but to all; because the fruit of the sacrifice by which he made atonement for sins, extends to all" (*Timothy*, [I Timothy 2:5] pp. 56-57), (5) "The universal term *all* must always be referred to classes of men, and not to persons; as if he had said, that not only Jews, but Gentiles also, not only persons of humble rank, but princes also, were redeemed by the death of Christ. Since, therefore, he wishes the benefit of his death to be common to all, an insult is offered to him by those who, by their opinion, shut out any person from the hope of salvation" (*Ibid.*). But on the other hand, he also asserts that (1) the virtue of Christ belongs only to the sons of God (Calvin, *Predestination*, p. 103), (2) the notion is unsatisfactory which posits Christ's sufferings as sufficient for all, but efficacious only for the elect (*Ibid.*, pp. 148-149), (3) the benefit of reconciliation is peculiar to the elect; it is not common to all men (*Ibid.*), and (4) I Corinthians 15:22 ("As in Adam all die, so in Christ shall all men be made alive") refers only to the members of Christ's own body (*Ibid.*, p. 153).

<sup>301</sup> Calvin, *Isaiah*, (52:13 ff.) p. 38.

<sup>302</sup> Wendel, p. 256.

<sup>303</sup> Wallace, pp. 25-26.



is our whole participation in Christ<sup>304</sup> whereby once-for-all we are sanctified in His satisfaction.<sup>305</sup> It is the fulfillment of Christ's presenting us in His own person before the Father in His sacrifice, yet it is also a process which is continuing by the sanctifying work of the Spirit of Christ until its glorious completion at the last day.<sup>306</sup> Involved, therefore, in this union with Christ is a process of mortification in which the pattern of dying with Christ must be worked out in the Christian's life both inwardly and outwardly.<sup>307</sup> Concerning the death of Christ the Reformer maintains, "By our participation in it, his death mortifies our earthly members so that they may no longer perform their functions; and it kills the old man in us that he may not flourish and bear fruit."<sup>308</sup> But both this sanctification and the participation in the new life of Christ which follows mortification proceed directly from union with Christ and tend towards the restoration of the image of God within us.<sup>309</sup>

After regeneration and the Christian life the Reformer considers the doctrine of justification by faith which is the principal article of the Christian faith.<sup>310</sup>

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<sup>304</sup>Wallace, p. 94.

<sup>305</sup>Ibid., p. 12.

<sup>306</sup>Ibid., p. 25.

<sup>307</sup>Wallace, p. 51.

<sup>308</sup>*Institutes*, II. 16. 7 .

<sup>309</sup>Wendel, p. 242.

<sup>310</sup>*Institutes*, III. 11. 1. For an extended bibliography on this point, see Wendel, pp. 255-256.

It is faith which receives Christ, leads us to the possession of all His blessings,<sup>311</sup> quickens,<sup>312</sup> and justifies, because it is faith which constitutes union with Christ.<sup>313</sup> The value of faith, however, lies in its object or content, which is Jesus Christ.<sup>314</sup> Therefore, the trust of the believer is grounded and pledged in the faithfulness of Christ who has Himself already received from God all His blessings and sealed that reception for us in His own life and death.<sup>315</sup>

The whole response of the man of faith to the Gospel is contained in the word "repentance,"<sup>316</sup> which like faith "is a singular gift of God."<sup>317</sup> It involves the changing of the whole habit of the soul that "fruits worthy of repentance" can be brought forth in the outward life. And though faith and repentance are constantly linked together in the Scriptures and cannot be separated, they must be distinguished, "for repentance is a turning to God, as when we frame ourselves and all our life to obey Him, but faith is a receiving of the grace offered us in Christ."<sup>318</sup> In his preaching there is strong language

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<sup>311</sup>Calvin, *John*, (1:13) p. 19.

<sup>312</sup>*Ibid.*, (3:16) p. 73.

<sup>313</sup>Wendel, p. 263.

<sup>314</sup>*Ibid.*, p. 241.

<sup>315</sup>T. F. Torrance, "Justification," p. 235.

<sup>316</sup>Wallace, p. 94.

<sup>317</sup>*Institutes*, III. 3. 20.

<sup>318</sup>Wallace, pp. 95-96; *Institutes*, III. 3. 5. Calvin indulges

concerning repentance, and believers as well are taught to cultivate repentance ("ordinary repentance") all the days of their lives.<sup>319</sup>

Calvin's doctrine of faith and salvation is one of great assurance. The central idea in this assurance is that we live because God freely loves us and does not impute our sins to us.<sup>320</sup> Added to this central idea is a further establishment of assurance when we "review ourselves before God and find evidence of God's dwelling and reigning within us in the works He has enabled us to do."<sup>321</sup> But this assurance is based chiefly on Christ whose blessings are eternal,<sup>322</sup> and in whom all God's promises are yea and amen. Furthermore His blood is engraven like a seal on our hearts and His gracious giving of himself stands as a pledge of the promises of God.<sup>323</sup> Therefore because of Christ's person and work, "we must not fail to be assured that he (God) will pardon our sins and accept

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in a subtle line of argument when he attempts to answer the question of whether faith or repentance is first in the heart. He states that repentance always follows faith and is produced by it (*Institutes*, III, 3. 1); yet he also includes faith as part of the work of turning to God which is repentance (*Ibid.*, III, 3. 5). Thus faith must flow from regeneration, and the preliminary regeneration which precedes faith is a very secret and obscure work of the Spirit. To human perception faith always precedes repentance or regeneration. It becomes obvious then for Calvin that faith and repentance are seen largely as simultaneous. Wallace, pp. 96-97.

<sup>319</sup>Wallace, pp. 98-99.

<sup>320</sup>Calvin, *John*, (3:16) p. 75.

<sup>321</sup>Wallace, p. 301; *Institutes*, III. 14. 18.

<sup>322</sup>*Hebrews*, (9:11) p. 201.

<sup>323</sup>*Ibid.*, (9:20-21) p. 212.

us as his well-beloved children, righteous and blameless, since our curse was abolished on this tree that our Lord Jesus was hanged upon."<sup>324</sup> Hence it is that because of Christ the Christian should be bold and joyful in his assurance before God.<sup>325</sup>

The action of Christ within His members forms a community which rests solely on His activity.<sup>326</sup> But this Church is discerned objectively by the preaching of the Word of God and the administration of the sacraments according to the institution of Christ. For Calvin there is only one Church, not two, which is distinguished by the fact that it has Jesus Christ as its head and is at his service.<sup>327</sup> It is consequently the duty of the Christian to adhere loyally to the visible Church.<sup>328</sup> Calvin admits that the Scripture sometimes does speak of the Church as it is before God with none admitted but such as are adopted as His sons and are true members of Christ.<sup>329</sup> But this invisible Church cannot be understood as an entity divorced from the church upon the earth, made up of members who profess faith and are baptized, holding to the Word of God.<sup>330</sup> Thus for all practical purposes membership in

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<sup>324</sup> *Isaiah*, (53:4-6) p. 71.

<sup>325</sup> *Wallace*, p. 303.

<sup>326</sup> *Wendel*, p. 295.

<sup>327</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 297.

<sup>328</sup> *Wallace*, p. 232.

<sup>329</sup> *Institutes*, IV. 1. 7; *Wallace*, p. 232.

<sup>330</sup> *Institutes*, IV. 1. 7; *Wallace*, p. 232.

the invisible Church is inseparable from membership in the visible Church; Calvin explains carefully, "To believe in the Holy Catholic Church relates in some measure to the external church, involves cultivating its communion, submitting duly to its authority and conducting ourselves as a sheep of the flock."<sup>331</sup> And although the Church never becomes mediatorial Calvin does not hesitate to refer to her as the mother of all true believers.<sup>332</sup> It is through the Church, in the use of the Word and the sacraments, that God seeks to further Christian growth.<sup>333</sup> And in order for the character of the Church of Christ to be preserved discipline is indispensable.<sup>334</sup>

The sacraments are defined as a testimony of the grace of God toward us, confirmed by an external sign, and as an outward sign "by which God seals upon our consciences the promises of his good will towards us, to confirm our feeble faith, and we give mutual testimony before him and the angels no less than before men, that we hold him to be God."<sup>335</sup> For Calvin the two sacraments sum up the work of Christ, representing the remission of sins and redemption.<sup>336</sup>

The sacraments for the Reformers were not seen as

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<sup>331</sup>*Institutes*, IV. 1. 3 and 7; Wallace, p. 232.

<sup>332</sup>*Institutes*, IV. 1. 1 and IV. 1. 4; Wallace, p. 196.

<sup>333</sup>Wallace, pp. 207-208.

<sup>334</sup>Wendel, p. 299.

<sup>335</sup>*Institutes*, IV. 14. 1; Wendel, p. 312.

<sup>336</sup>Wendel, p. 317.

producers of grace, but as revealers of Christ and gracious only because of His presence.<sup>337</sup> And the Holy Spirit is in no way bound to the sacraments but may effect our union with Christ without them.<sup>338</sup> Nevertheless, Calvin states, that in Baptism "we are not only engrafted into the death and life of Christ, but so united to Christ himself that we become sharers in all his blessings."<sup>339</sup> The sacraments are aids and means to our incorporation into Christ and to confirm us more and more during the present life.<sup>340</sup> Thus they are concrete and visible means whereby we are brought into union with Christ, and they serve continually to make this union effective in the Church.<sup>341</sup>

The power of baptism resides, however, not in the water itself, but in the blood of Christ, who Himself is the chief end of this sacrament. And although baptism does not restore us to Adam's state of integrity, it does assure us that God has forgiven our sin, removed the punishment which would have followed and that He looks upon us as righteous by imputing the righteousness of Christ to us.<sup>342</sup> The Eucharist similarly is a means of sanctification for the members of Christ's body,<sup>343</sup>

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<sup>337</sup> Strickland, p. 28.

<sup>338</sup> Wendel, p. 327.

<sup>339</sup> *Institutes*, IV. 15. 6.

<sup>340</sup> Wendel, p. 318.

<sup>341</sup> Wallace, pp. 18 and 19.

<sup>342</sup> Wendel, pp. 319-321.

<sup>343</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 354.

containing no propitiatory effect; yet it is the occasion of a true eucharistic sacrifice of the whole church to God in love and service to one another.<sup>344</sup>

While it must be admitted that Calvin's doctrine of the Eucharist does leave some obscurities,<sup>345</sup> he is most certainly opposed to all those who would allow nothing more than a purely spiritual communion with the spirit of Christ.<sup>346</sup> In the Eucharist God really communicates to us what He has promised.<sup>347</sup> Calvin rejects the transfusion of the natural substance of the body of Christ, but affirms "the communication by faith of Christ and his benefits, considered as the spiritual substance of the body of Christ present in the Supper."<sup>348</sup> When the believer consumes the consecrated bread in a sense he receives the body of Christ.<sup>349</sup> Therefore, Wendel concludes concerning the Eucharist:

Definitely, then, Calvin did make, side by side, two distinct affirmations that it is difficult to reconcile: on the one hand he maintained that the body of Christ is present in the Supper and communicates to us 'Jesus Christ with his death and resurrection'; that is, the benefits that his merits have won for us. On the other hand, he declares that the body of Christ has no local or spatial relationship with the material elements of the Eucharist.<sup>350</sup>

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<sup>344</sup>Wallace, p. 210.

<sup>345</sup>Wendel, p. 354.

<sup>346</sup>Ibid., p. 334.

<sup>347</sup>Ibid., p. 338.

<sup>348</sup>Ibid., p. 342.

<sup>349</sup>Ibid., p. 344.

<sup>350</sup>Ibid., p. 354.

AUGUSTINE AND AUGUSTINIAN INFLUENCES

Before considering the doctrine of the Mediator in Scottish theology something should also be added concerning the theology of Augustine (354-430)<sup>351</sup> who greatly influenced not only Calvin and Aquinas, but Scottish theologians as well. Augustine has been described as "practically the father of all western Christianity after his time." And it is also asserted that there "is scarcely a single Roman Catholic dogma which is historically intelligible without reference to his teaching."<sup>352</sup> Certainly his work *On the Holy Trinity* is one of the most profound and exact statements ever to be written on this great mystery.<sup>353</sup>

Of course there are many positive contributions made by Augustine to the theology of the Christian Church, including the centrality of Christ,<sup>354</sup> the futility of trying to know God apart from the man Christ,<sup>355</sup> the fact that Christ was predestinated as man,<sup>356</sup> and the truth of the members of Christ being chosen when Christ was

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<sup>351</sup>Friedrich Armin Loofs, "Augustine, Saint, of Hippo," *The New Schaff-Herzog Encyclopedia of Religious Knowledge*, 1908, I, p. 365.

<sup>352</sup>*Ibid.*, p. 368.

<sup>353</sup>Eugène Portalié, *A Guide to the Thought of St. Augustine*, trans. Ralph J. Bastian (London: Burns & Oates, 1960), p. 179.

<sup>354</sup>*Ibid.*, p. 152.

<sup>355</sup>Aurelius Augustine, *On the Holy Trinity*, trans. Arthur West Haddan and W. G. T. Shedd, Vol. III of *A Select Library of the Nicene and Post-Nicene Fathers of the Christian Church*, ed. by Philip Schaff (14 vols.; Grand Rapids: Wm. B. Eerdmans Publishing Company, 1956), 13. 19. 24 (Hereafter listed as Augustine, *Trinity*).

<sup>356</sup>Aurelius Augustine, *Lectures or Tractates on the Gospel*



glorified.<sup>357</sup> He also lays a heavy stress on the reality of adoption which is a loving act of God from before the foundation of the world,<sup>358</sup> for which purpose Christ was sent into the world.<sup>359,360</sup> He teaches both the reality<sup>361</sup> and the completeness of Christ's humanity,<sup>362</sup> by which He was the Mediator between God and man.<sup>363</sup> And he stresses

According to *St. John*, trans. John Gibb, Vols. X-XI of *The Works of Aurelius Augustine, Bishop of Hippo*, ed. Marcus Dods (15 vols.; Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark, 1873), (John 17:1-5) 105. 7-8 (Hereafter designated as Augustine, *John*).

<sup>357</sup> Ibid., (17:21-23) 110. 7.

<sup>358</sup> Ibid., (17:21-23) 110. 6.

<sup>359</sup> Ibid., (1:6-14) 2. 13.

<sup>360</sup> He asks, "For if He who is by nature the Son of God was made the Son of man through mercy for the sake of the sons of men--for this is what is meant by 'The Word was made flesh, and dwelt among us,' men,--how much more credible is it that the sons of men by nature should be made the sons of God by the grace of God, and should dwell in God in whom alone and from whom alone the blessed can be made partakers of that immortality; of which that we might be convinced, the Son of God was made partakers of our mortality?" Augustine, *Trinity*, 13. 9. 12.

<sup>361</sup> Aurelius Augustine, "To Volusianus" (Letter XXXVII), *The Letters of Saint Augustine*, trans. J. G. Cunningham, Vols. VI and XIII of *The Works of Aurelius Augustine, Bishop of Hippo*, ed. Marcus Dods (15 vols.; Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark, 1875), 3. 9 (Hereafter designated as Augustine, "Volusianus").

<sup>362</sup> Augustine, *John*, (8:28-32) 40. 4 and (10:14-21) 47. 9.

<sup>363</sup> Aurelius Augustine, *The City of God*, trans. Marcus Dods. Vols. I-II of *The Works of Aurelius Augustine, Bishop of Hippo*, ed. Marcus Dods (15 vols.; Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark, 1873), 11. 2. (Hereafter designated as Augustine, *City of God*). Aurelius Augustine, *The Confessions of St. Augustine*, trans. J. G. Pilkington, Vol. XIV of *The Works of Aurelius Augustine, Bishop of Hippo*, ed. Marcus Dods (15 vols.; Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark, 1873), 10. 43. 68 (Hereafter designated as Augustine, *Confessions*).

the double aspect of Christ's mediation,<sup>364</sup> the reality of Christ's two natures,<sup>365</sup> and the humility of the Mediator in His Incarnation<sup>366</sup> and baptism for our sake.<sup>367</sup> Augustine maintains that the Incarnation serves (1) to lead men to God,<sup>368</sup> (2) to show the nearness of God toward man,<sup>369</sup> (3) to make of the sons of men adopted sons of God,<sup>370</sup> (4) to prove the love of God toward man,<sup>371</sup> (5) to provide salvation for man,<sup>372</sup> (6) to deliver man from sin and damnation,<sup>373</sup> (7) to enable man to contemplate

<sup>364</sup>"The first, the appeasing of God, is the work of the MAN-God, of the Just One par excellence. . . . The conversion of man is the work of the GOD-man." Portalié, pp. 163-164.

<sup>365</sup>Aurelius Augustine, *The Enchiridion*, trans. J. F. Shaw, Vol. IX of *The Works of Aurelius Augustine, Bishop of Hippo*, ed. Marcus Dods (15 vols.; Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark, 1873), chapters 35 and 38 (Hereafter designated as Augustine, *Enchiridion*). Augustine, *Trinity*, 1. 7. 14. Augustine, *John*, (16:12-13), 98. 6.

<sup>366</sup>Aurelius Augustine, *On Faith and the Creed*, trans. S. D. Salmond, Vol. IX of *The Works of Aurelius Augustine, Bishop of Hippo*, ed. Marcus Dods (15 vols.; Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark, 1873), 4 (Hereafter designated as Augustine, *Faith and the Creed*).

<sup>367</sup>Augustine, *Enchiridion*, 49.

<sup>368</sup>Augustine, *John*, (5:19-40) 23. 6 and *Trinity*, 4. 18. 24.

<sup>369</sup>Augustine, "Volusianus," 3. 12.

<sup>370</sup>Augustine, *John*, (1:6-14) 2. 15; *Trinity*, 13. 9. 12. Portalié, p. 166.

<sup>371</sup>Aurelius Augustine, *On the Catechising of the Uninstructed*, trans. S. D. Salmond, Vol. IX of *The Works of Aurelius Augustine, Bishop of Hippo*, ed. Marcus Dods (15 vols.; Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark, 1873), 4 (Hereafter designated as Augustine, *Catechising of the Uninstructed*). Portalié, p. 170.

<sup>372</sup>Augustine, "Volusianus," 3. 11. *City of God*, 11. 2. *John*, (1:6-14) 2. 15.

<sup>373</sup>Augustine, *John*, (3:29-36) 14. 15; (7:25-36) 31. 5. *Catechising of the Uninstructed*, 26.

God,<sup>374</sup> (8) to heal us,<sup>375</sup>, (9) to show man the place God has for him in the creation,<sup>376</sup> (10) to demonstrate humility,<sup>377</sup> (11) to show that it is sin which is evil, and not the nature of flesh,<sup>378</sup> (12) to enable man to share in the divine nature,<sup>379</sup> and (13) to build up hope within us by demonstrating at how great a price God rated us and how greatly He loved us.<sup>380</sup> Concerning the offices of Christ Augustine teaches that Christ is King in our nature<sup>381</sup> and Priest for ever as the Son of man, who offered Himself in our humanity.<sup>382</sup> In Him also our nature is exalted and renewed,<sup>383</sup> and in Him alone is any man ever pleasing to God.<sup>384</sup> Christ is the Second Adam, the pioneer and head of a redeemed humanity,<sup>385</sup> who frees us from the sin, death and disobedience brought by the first Adam.<sup>386</sup> And In Augustine's treatment of the death of

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<sup>374</sup> Augustine, *Trinity*, 4. 2. 4.

<sup>375</sup> Ibid., 13. 10. 13.

<sup>376</sup> Ibid., 13. 17. 22.

<sup>377</sup> Portalié, pp. 170-172.

<sup>378</sup> Augustine, *Enchiridion*, 33.

<sup>379</sup> Augustine, *City of God*, 21. 15.

<sup>380</sup> Augustine, *Trinity*, 13. 10. 13.

<sup>381</sup> Augustine, *Catechising of the Uninstructed*, 20.

<sup>382</sup> Augustine, *City of God*, 10. 6; 10.31; 20:10.

<sup>383</sup> Augustine, *John*, (2:12-21) 10. 11; (6:41-59) 26. 19; (14:27-28) 78. 3. "Volusianus," 2. 8.

<sup>384</sup> Augustine, *City of God*, 18. 47.

<sup>385</sup> Eugene TeSelle, *Augustine the Theologian* (London: Burns & Oates, 1970), p. 176.

<sup>386</sup> Augustine, *City of God*, 14. 15; *John*, (1:15-18) 3. 13; *Trinity*, 4. 10. 13 and 13. 16. 21. TeSelle, p. 337.

Christ it is His humanity that is all important.<sup>387</sup>

There are three basic principles of his doctrine of the atonement: (1) the concept of sin especially as an injury to the divine right, (2) the need of a satisfaction being given to God, and (3) the principle of vicarious satisfaction or substitution by which Christ offers Himself as a victim for the sins of the entire human race and obtains pardon for sins from the Father.<sup>388</sup> Augustine teaches that the fulness of salvation, including reconciliation, forgiveness of sins, redemption, sanctification, and the final resurrection,<sup>389</sup> is wholly contained in Christ.<sup>390</sup> In Christ there is deliverance from evil and Satan,<sup>391</sup> unrighteousness,<sup>392</sup> sin,<sup>393</sup> and death.<sup>394</sup> And although Augustine states that by believing in Christ one is justified and made one with Christ,<sup>395</sup> he defines faith in

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<sup>387</sup>Augustine, *Faith and the Creed*, 4; *John*, (3:16-21) 12. 11; *Trinity*, 13. 16. 21.

<sup>388</sup>Portalié, p. 164.

<sup>389</sup>Aurelius Augustine, *On the Creed--A Sermon to the Catechumens*, trans. C. L. Cornish, Vol. III of *A Select Library of the Nicene and Post-Nicene Fathers of the Christian Church*, ed. Philip Schaff (14 vols.; Grand Rapids: Wm. B. Eerdmans Publishing Company, 1956), 15 (Hereafter designated as Augustine, *On the Creed*); *Trinity*, 4. 3. 6. Portalié, pp. 168 and 172.

<sup>390</sup>Augustine, *John*, (1:6-14) 2. 15.; *Trinity*, 13. 19. 24. Portalié, p. 152.

<sup>391</sup>Augustine, *John*, (16:12-13) 98. 7; *Trinity*, 4. 12. 15.

<sup>392</sup>Augustine, *Trinity*, 4. 2. 4.

<sup>393</sup>Augustine, *Enchiridion*, 49.

<sup>394</sup>Augustine, *Trinity*, 4. 12. 15; *City of God*, 12. 16 and 22. 22.

<sup>395</sup>Augustine, *Trinity*, 4. 7. 11.

Christ as Christ Himself in one's heart,<sup>396</sup> for "even our very believing in Christ is the work of Christ."<sup>397</sup> And concerning the Old Testament saints, Augustine teaches that though the true Mediator had been obscurely foreshadowed to them,<sup>398</sup> they were under the same Head as we and were saved through Christ's Passion which was to come.<sup>399</sup>

Yet there are several areas in which Augustine's theology comes under the need for criticism, manifesting shortcomings which have greatly influenced much of subsequent theology, including the theology of Scotland. The first area is his teaching of predestination in which he posits God creating some men for grace and others for retribution,<sup>400</sup> with the number of the elect predetermined and unchangeable.<sup>401</sup> And although he describes predestination as the mystery of mysteries, he insists that "neither God nor Jesus Christ had the absolute will to save all men."<sup>402</sup> Here Augustine has forgotten his own teaching concerning Christ as the agent of election and has failed to perceive the solidarity of Christ with the human race by virtue of the Incarnation. However, he

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<sup>396</sup> Augustine, *John*, (11:1-54) 49. 18.

<sup>397</sup> Ibid., (14:10-14) 72. 2.

<sup>398</sup> Augustine, *City of God*, 10. 32.

<sup>399</sup> Ibid., 10. 25; *Catechising of the Uninstructed*, 19; *Enchiridion*, 118; *Confessions*, 10. 43. 68.

<sup>400</sup> Augustine, *City of God*, 21. 12; *Enchiridion*, 107.

<sup>401</sup> Portalié, p. 216.

<sup>402</sup> Ibid., p. 217.

is not always consistent, for he sometimes speaks of Christ as having been offered universally to the nations<sup>403</sup> and of all sins as having been expiated by Christ.<sup>404</sup> Moreover, he can also describe the work of Christ as being for any who will believe and receive it.<sup>405</sup>

Also concerning the Incarnation Augustine is very careful to guard the purity of Christ so that there is no room for the entrance of sin.<sup>406</sup> He depicts Christ as having been born apart from concupiscence so as to exclude all taint of original sin and to preserve His holiness.<sup>407</sup> Thus it is that Christ derives only flesh from Adam, not sin.<sup>408</sup> In this instance it appears that the ancient doctor has failed to carry through completely with the entire identification of Christ with the sinful race of humanity and instead sees Christ's humanity as qualitatively distinct from our own.

For Augustine too there was no need of a Mediator for Adam before the fall; the Mediator is required only after the entrance of sin.<sup>409</sup> Therefore there is no epistemological necessity for the mediation of Christ. And in a similar vein Augustine is ambiguous as to whether or not Christ will remain as Mediator throughout the ages

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<sup>403</sup> Augustine, *City of God*, 10. 32.

<sup>404</sup> Portalié, p. 167.

<sup>405</sup> Augustine, *John*, (8:15-18) 36. 1; *City of God*, 15. 1.

<sup>406</sup> Augustine, *Enchiridion*, 40.

<sup>407</sup> Augustine, *Trinity*, 13. 18. 23; Portalié, p. 154.

<sup>408</sup> Augustine, *John*, (1:19-33) 4. 10.

<sup>409</sup> Augustine, *Enchiridion*, 108.

of eternity.<sup>410</sup>

Augustine can also be faulted for giving little teaching on the prophetic office of Christ whereby He exists as the Great Teacher of the Church. And likewise there is little attention given to the continuing priesthood and intercession of Christ for us whereby Christ leads our worship and sanctifies the aspirations of our hearts that they might be made acceptable before the Father.<sup>411</sup>

Another very serious problem in Augustine's thinking is the way in which he seems to be dominated by the anthropological question. His *Enchiridion*, probably the first complete work of systematic theology, begins with man and then works toward Christ and salvation. This order tends to detract from the glory of God and the greatness of His grace which are seen in Christ, because man's fundamental question comes to be how he can be saved, rather than the mystery of the Person of Christ. Certainly for the Bishop of Hippo the question of man--why he fell, how he can be redeemed, whether or not his will is free--appears to be the most important question. And because his starting point is man it is indeed questionable whether sin is ever adequately and correctly defined since it can be seen for what it is only in the light of God's grace revealed in Christ.

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<sup>410</sup>Augustine, *Trinity*, 1. 10. 20.

<sup>411</sup>Augustine forbids anyone's asking what Christ is doing at the right hand of the Father. The fact that Christ is there Augustine feels is sufficient. *On the Creed*, 11.



Issuing from this emphasis on man is a presupposed dualism between God and man which appears to contradict the biblical doctrine that God and man are reconciled in Christ.<sup>412</sup> There seems to be in Augustine the seeds of the rigid separation of nature and grace, of creation and redemption, which was to become later almost an axiomatic principle of theology. Certainly this incipient dualism is manifested in Augustine's doctrine of the Church. He likens the Church to Noah's ark<sup>413</sup> and gives her great authority in the guidance of humanity since she is the way of salvation and the mother of all true believers.<sup>414</sup> She has been given the dreadful authority to excommunicate<sup>415</sup> and to give the remission of sins<sup>416</sup> through baptism, prayer, and the humility of penance.<sup>417</sup> The Church also has the authority to administer the sacraments which translate the individual from the power of darkness to the kingdom of Christ, saving him from both eternal punishments and purgatorial torments after death.<sup>418</sup> It was in his doctrine of the Church that Augustine became the founder of Roman Catholicism and called into being a new type of Christianity in which the idea of the Church became the

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<sup>412</sup>Strickland, p. 7.

<sup>413</sup>Augustine, *City of God*, 15. 26.

<sup>414</sup>Portalié, pp. 231-232.

<sup>415</sup>Ibid., p. 242.

<sup>416</sup>Augustine, *Enchiridion*, 64-65.

<sup>417</sup>Augustine, *On the Creed*, 16.

<sup>418</sup>Augustine, *City of God*, 21. 16.



central power in religious feeling and ecclesiastical activity. However, his idea of the Church was actually taken over from his predecessors and never really homologated in his innermost thought. In Augustine's mind the Church is the *congregatio sanctorum*, the Body of Christ, and it is this Church which he envisions when he refers to is as the *Civitas Dei*, or the Kingdom of God on earth. But in his thought the hierarchically organized Church tends to replace the *congregatio sanctorum*, even when he is referring to is as the Kingdom or City of God, "in which alone any communion with God is possible here, and through which alone eternal blessedness with God is attainable hereafter." Therefore,

Augustine, almost against his will, became the stay of that doctrine of the Church as the sole instrument at once of true knowledge of the Divine revelation and of saving grace which provides the two *foci* about which the ellipse of Roman Catholic teaching revolves. What before him was matter of assertion became in his hands a religion, and went forth to conquer the world.<sup>419</sup>

It is probably true that Augustine's greatest contribution to the life and thought of the world is embodied in his theology of grace.<sup>420</sup> Portalié maintains, "The part of God and man in salvation and the harmony between grace and liberty indisputably form the central core of the teaching of the Bishop of Hippo."<sup>421</sup> For Augustine the highest grace in time is the Incarnation of

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<sup>419</sup> Benjamin B. Warfield, "Augustine," *Encyclopaedia of Religion and Ethics*, 1909, II, p. 221.

<sup>420</sup> Ibid., p. 223.

<sup>421</sup> Portalié, p. 177.

Christ which is also the greatest possible demonstration of the grace of a loving God.<sup>422</sup> Both the work of creation and or redemption are of the grace of God,<sup>423</sup> for God is the unique source of all good and *a fortiori* of all moral good or virtue.<sup>424</sup> For Augustine man must cast himself decisively on the grace alone for salvation, rejecting all of his own works and merits.<sup>425</sup> But Augustine began to understand grace as something essentially detachable from God and as a spiritual "thing" which could be deposited in the Church to be dispensed in the sacraments.<sup>426</sup> The term grace became so broad and sub-defined that it appears to have lost for Augustine, in the final analysis, its basic New Testament meaning.<sup>427</sup>

After Augustine that which were but seeds and tendencies for him became real perversions of the New Testament doctrine of grace as lesser minds were incapable of sustaining his delicate balance and subtlety of argument. Grace came to replace the Holy Spirit, and Christ became only a means of attaining God or His grace; thus God is other than He who is revealed in Jesus Christ. After Augustine's period there is a pronounced tendency

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<sup>422</sup> Augustine, *Trinity*, 13. 19. 24.

<sup>423</sup> Augustine, *City of God*, 10. 29.

<sup>424</sup> Portalié, pp. 193-194.

<sup>425</sup> Warfield, p. 223.

<sup>426</sup> Strickland, p. 12.

<sup>427</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 15.

to understand grace as a divine quality infused into man which adds to his powers of body and soul.<sup>428</sup> Especially after the thirteenth century grace was thought to be a created intermediary between God and man, exclusive of the possibility of direct contact between the two.<sup>429</sup>

These problems bequeathed By Augustine to the Church were to reappear in Scottish theology as men in controversy attempted to spell out the great doctrines of the faith. And it appears that these same difficulties also are present in the modern era. Augustine is surely an example of the need for holding to the whole counsel of God in one's theology and particularly in the central doctrine of the Mediator.

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<sup>428</sup>Ibid., pp. 12-15.

<sup>429</sup>Ibid., p. 22.

## CHAPTER I

### JOHN KNOX AND THE SCOTTISH REFORMATION

#### LUTHERAN INFLUENCES

In the Scottish Reformation in which the attempt was made to improve the doctrine of the Mediator propounded by the medieval theologians and to restore more fully to Christ His Biblical place as the one Mediator between God and man, the influence of Calvin and his followers is well attested. But there appears also to have been a substantial, though perhaps hidden, Lutheran influence. The German Reformer's teaching was certainly represented by Patrick Hamilton (1504?-1528) who suffered martyrdom for his opposition to the Roman Catholic dogmas in Scotland.<sup>1</sup> And others such as James Melville after having studied carefully the proceedings and activities of the Lutherans during the Reformation, returned to spread their discoveries and to interpret at least some of Luther's ideas within their native land.<sup>2</sup> However, it appears that by 1560 the Scottish Reformers found in the

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<sup>1</sup>For a very good treatment of medieval notions of mediation, see Joseph Jungmann, *The Place of Christ in Liturgical Prayer*, trans. by A. Peelder (2nd ed.; London: Geoffrey Chapman, 1965). Aeneas MacKay, "Hamilton, Patrick," *Dictionary of National Biography*, 1890, XXIV, pp. 201-203. See also Iain R. Torrance, "Patrick Hamilton and John Knox: A Study in the Doctrine of Justification by Faith," *Archiv Für Reformationgeschichte*, 65, 1974, pp. 171-178 (Hereafter designated as "Hamilton and Knox").

<sup>2</sup>Hugh Watt, "The Three James Melvilles," *Scottish Church History Society Records*, Vol. III, Part I, 1929, pp. 101 ff.

name of Luther more of an obstacle than an inspiration, and his name is cited more prominently in the writings of their opponents than in their own.<sup>3</sup> But nevertheless, it was later the message of Luther that gave power to Secessionists like John Brown and a vivifying quality--to what would have otherwise been a dry, sterile orthodoxy--evident in such works as *The Marrow of Modern Divinity*, in which Luther is the most frequently cited author. It also appears that there were copies of English translations of the German Reformer's works which circulated in Scotland to spread His influence throughout the land.<sup>4</sup> Thus it is that while Luther's theology officially caused no changes in Scottish doctrine, his warmth, vigour, and spiritual vitality gave life to Scottish theology and fostered such movements as the Evangelical Revival.<sup>5,6</sup>

#### THE SCOTS CONFESSION OF 1560

The Reformation in Scotland began officially with the passage in Parliament of the "First Scottish Confession" on the seventeenth of August, 1560. The statement was prepared by a committee of six Johns--Knox, Willock, Douglas, Spottiswood, Winram, and Row--all of whom were notable

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<sup>3</sup> Hugh Watt, "The Influence of Martin Luther on Scottish Religion in the 18th Century," *Scottish Church History Society Records*, Vol. VI, Part II, 1937, pp. 148-151.

<sup>4</sup> Ibid., pp. 152 ff.

<sup>5</sup> Ibid., pp. 159-160.

<sup>6</sup> It could also be noted that whereas John McLeod Campbell in *The Nature of the Atonement* makes no direct reference to Calvin, he has an entire chapter on Luther's teaching (II). The author refers to Luther as "the great reformer."

personalities,<sup>7</sup> though the guiding hand appears to have been that of Knox.<sup>8,9</sup> And while the Confession was replaced by the *Westminster Confession* in 1644, it has been preferred by many for its freshness and directness which speaks to a real, and living, not merely academic situation.<sup>10</sup>

The *Scots Confession*, containing twenty-five chapters or articles, is very much a Christocentric document that stresses the union of God and man in Christ, through which we are given to participate in the holy life of Christ.<sup>11</sup> By faith Christ is grasped and with Him all those graces and blessings which are promised (III). One prominent fact which emerges from the order of the articles is that the Incarnation (VI) is placed before either the office of the Mediator (VII) or the doctrine of election (VIII). The inference is most certainly that Christ by the Incarnation assumes our humanity by which He is God's elect One, the Agent and Substance of Election. And He is the Elect One for all men everywhere, not merely

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<sup>7</sup> John T. McNeill, *The History and Character of Calvinism* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1967), p. 298. G. D. Henderson, *The Scots Confession of 1560* (Edinburgh: Saint Andrew Press, 1960), p. 10.

<sup>8</sup> J. H. S. Burleigh, *A Church History of Scotland* (London: Oxford University Press, 1960), p. 154. G. D. Henderson, p. 10.

<sup>9</sup> There is therefore a methodological problem of whether the *Scots Confession* should be treated as one of Knox's works or as separate from the Reformer. Not enough source criticism has been done on the document to be able to answer this question satisfactorily. But for the purposes of this thesis the confession is treated separately though it is realized that its predominant influence is that of the Scottish Reformer.

<sup>10</sup> Burleigh, p. 155. Cf. Irving, pp. 602-606 and John McLeod Campbell in G. D. Henderson, p. 22.

<sup>11</sup> T. F. Torrance, "Justification," p. 226.

for a select group. He is the Father's great gift of love to the world, a gift which far surpasses merely the retrospective need of man for His mediation.

While the Confession teaches fully the deity and Godhead of Christ (I, VI, VII, VIII) there is an immense stress placed on the humanity of Christ. He is said to have taken upon Himself a body of our body, flesh of our flesh, and bone of our bone in a holy brotherhood by which what was lost in Adam is restored to us again. Because He is our brother and has offered everything which God requires for man's salvation, it remains only for man to embrace Christ and be made one with Him (VIII).

It is interesting to note in this regard that the Confession has no separate article on justification. Rather, justification belongs to the inner texture of the Gospel and this fact makes decisively clear the very essence of salvation by grace.<sup>12</sup> But the emphasis on the Person of Christ tends to overshadow the existence or prominence of legal categories.

And while the Confession is by no means silent concerning man's creation and sin (II, III) its Christ-centered thrust lifts it from the danger of man-centeredness. For the *Scots Confession* man's need is subordinated to the Son of God and the glory of the Father. Therefore there is no need for a separate article on how man can be assured of his salvation and eternal life. Such a need fades quickly away when the stress is put upon who

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<sup>12</sup>Ibid., p. 225.

Christ is and what He has done as the universal vicarious representative of man before the Father.

The Confession teaches that Christ suffered voluntarily the wrath of God which sinners deserved, though He ever remained the only, well beloved, and blessed Son of the Father (IX). He rose again, bringing life to those who were subject to death and its bondage (X) and in the selfsame body ascended into heaven where He sits at the right hand of the Father as our only Advocate and Mediator. From Heaven He is the Head of His Church, the Lawgiver, and High Priest, as well as the sovereign and supreme Governor (XI).

In all its statements concerning man's redemption the Confession is careful in attributing all the glory to the grace of God alone. Man by himself is incapable of a single good thought and must cast himself on the mercy of God alone (XII). And though the believer struggles with the devil and his own nature, it is Christ within him which empowers him for victory and deliverance (XIII). Man's works are never perfect <sup>before</sup> God; his only hope is to be found in Christ, in whose righteousness God accepts man and covers his works, defiled with many stains. Only Christ has given that obedience which is required by the Law; therefore, any who trusts in his own works is guilty of the most damnable idolatry (XV).

The Confession testifies also of one Kirk, the spouse of Jesus Christ, which is universal, containing those from every age, position, and tongue. Because the Church is the body of Christ there is a sense in which



there is no salvation without her and a sense in which she is invisible--known only to God and containing the chosen departed, those who live and resist evil, and those who will live hereafter (XIVI). But the true Kirk is discerned by (1) the true preaching of the Word of God, (2) the right administration of the sacraments of Christ, and (3) ecclesiastical discipline rightly ministered (XVIII).

The Church has been given two sacraments, Baptism and the Lord's Supper, in order to make a visible distinction between the people of God and those who are outside of His Covenant, to exercise the faith of His children, and "by participation of these sacraments, to seal in their hearts the assurance of His promise, and of that most blessed conjunction, union, and society which the chosen have with their Head, Christ Jesus." The Confession condemns those who see the sacraments as nothing but bare signs. It asserts that

by Baptism we are engrafted into Christ Jesus, to be made partakers of His righteousness, by which our sins are covered and remitted, and also that in the Supper rightly used Christ Jesus is so joined with us that He becomes the very nourishment and food of our souls (XXI).

While rejecting the Romanist doctrine of transubstantiation the Confession insists that in the Supper the faithful have union with Christ in such a manner that the natural man cannot apprehend. Yet it is only by true faith, which lays hold on Christ Jesus, that this sacrament is made effective in us (XXI).

The Confession condemns the Roman Catholic Church especially because in her mass the priests are permitted to act as mediators between Christ and His Kirk and allowed

to offer to God a sacrifice in propitiation for sins. Thus this doctrine is described as blasphemous to Christ Jesus and is said to "deprive His unique sacrifice, once offered on the cross for the cleansing of all who are to be sanctified, of its sufficiency" (XXII).

### JOHN KNOX

#### THE MAN AND HIS INFLUENCE

The historian Froude asserts that after all the factors and characters of the Reformation in Britain have been weighed carefully, "no grander figure can be found in the history of the Reformation in this island than that of Knox" (c.1513-1572).<sup>13</sup> His hand is unmistakably evident in the formation of both the doctrine and polity of the Church of Scotland and has influenced the doctrine and polity of almost all other Reformed and Presbyterian ecclesiastical bodies. Certainly the Scottish Reformation begins with Knox who almost singularly led the Reformed Church in Scotland during those difficult days when the break with Rome was finalized.

Because of his vast determining influence on the development of the Church of Scotland in its life and thought, it can truly be said that Scottish theology can never be fully apprehended apart from the theology of John Knox. Thus to understand Scottish theology and its later developments one must begin with Knox and his doctrine which was formulated during the time of the Scottish Reformation.

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<sup>13</sup> James Anthony Froude, *History of England From the Fall of*

But this real Knox is not easily known. Lord Eustace Percy in his famous biography of Knox states that the Reformer is a "puzzle to the historian."<sup>14</sup> James McEwen in a similar vein argues that there are few other historical personages about whose origins so little is known. And not only are his origins obscure; but also the man himself appears to be hidden in deep mystery. Neither we nor his contemporaries know the real heart of Knox.<sup>15</sup> Though he could preach with power and vigour, he was almost wholly inarticulate in public concerning his own spiritual existence.<sup>16,17</sup>

It is probably his deep humility that it makes it difficult to determine sometimes what he actually wrote.

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*Wolsey to the Defeat of the Spanish Armada* (12 vols.; London: Longmans, Green, and Company, 1870), X, p. 455. Iain Torrance argues that "though Knox did not bring the Reformed doctrines to Scotland, he greatly enriched them." "Hamilton and Knox," p. 183.

<sup>14</sup> Lord Eustace Percy, *John Knox*, London: Hodder & Stroughton, 1937), p. 57.

<sup>15</sup> James E. McEwen, *The Faith of John Knox* (London: Lutterworth Press, 1961), p. 101.

<sup>16</sup> Percy, pp. 59-60.

<sup>17</sup> Several reasons have been suggested as to why so little is known of Knox: (1) He was of a humble class that kept no family records (McEwen, p. 102), (2) His own Scottish nature made it difficult to reveal the secrets of his heart in public (McEwen, p. 103), (3) Because he felt called only to his own generation he was not interesting in having his sermons published or committing himself to writing unnecessarily (Percy, p. 60), (4) Unlike Luther, when Knox preached it was always formal and objective, completely dissociated from himself and his own inner life (McEwen, pp. 102-103), (5) Knox held a "keen sense of man's littleness before God, and of the insignificance of the preacher compared with the Word he preaches." Since the Word was everything and the preacher nothing, he sought not to inject himself into the message, but to obliterate what was intimate and private (McEwen, pp. 103-105).

He was concerned with the truth, not his own glory, and consequently worked along with others in the formulation of doctrine or teaching without seeking to be given credit for his own efforts. However, this consideration assumes the listing of works in Laing's edition of *The Works of John Knox* to be an adequate guide, even though he was probably assisted by fellow-workers in the composing of certain of the documents.<sup>18</sup>

And formulating the theology of Knox in a systematic arrangement is not always an easy task. Unlike Calvin, he wrote no comprehensive treatise covering all of theology; rather, his writings are those composed in controversy and in answer to acute spiritual needs of either the Church or individuals. Hence his theology must be framed by careful consideration and weighing of all his statements, sermons, letters, and confessions, as well as the reasons which prompted the individual works. Also it could be added that outside of McEwen's *The Faith of John Knox* there exists no major work on the systematic or dogmatic theology of Knox; McEwen describes this type of study of the Reformer "a curiously neglected task"--even in Scotland.<sup>19</sup>

#### THE INDIVIDUALITY AND HEART OF KNOX

But even though Knox is almost an unknown historical character, Percy argues rather convincingly that the private heart of the Reformer's religion is to be found in the seventeenth chapter of John's Gospel because of Knox's

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<sup>18</sup>The one exception is that the *Scots Confession of 1560* has been considered separately.

<sup>19</sup>McEwen, p. VII.

testimony on his deathbed that it was here he first cast his anchor.<sup>20</sup> Concerning Knox's regard for John 17 Percy states:

Once and once only, at the close of an evening spent in a new communion, men had been allowed to overhear that voice, as they listened to the Son speaking alone to the Father. On the events of that evening Knox's contemplation was fixed. Here, in the Last Supper, in the teaching that followed it, and above all in the prayer of intercession that followed the teaching he found the secret of all human worship and of all human hope.<sup>21</sup>

Similarly McEwen suggests that this passage had so saturated Knox's mind that it had become interwoven with his own thoughts and that he "thinks of God, and Christ, and salvation, and the life salvation of the redeemed in terms of our Lord's great prayer of self-consecration."<sup>22</sup> It is in this passage that Knox found the great truth of union with Christ and resulting truths of salvation, election, reconciliation, the church, and the sacraments.

McEwen is thus able to argue confidently that Knox's most important insight is the mystery of union with Christ. Eternal life is in knowing Christ--not in grasping a truth intellectually--but a communion with God through the Mediator, a personal fellowship with the risen and living Christ.<sup>23</sup> Concerning this union with Christ Knox affirms that

so streit and neare is the conjunction and union betwixt Christ Jesus and his membres, that they must be one, and never can be separated. For so did Christ pray, saying, "That they all may

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<sup>20</sup>Percy, pp. 57-58.

<sup>21</sup>Ibid., p. 59.

<sup>22</sup>McEwen, p. 108.

<sup>23</sup>Ibid., p. 113.

be one, as we are one: I in them, and thou in in me, that they may be perfecte in one." Let the conjunction be diligently marked, for much it serveth to our comfort. As the Godhead is inseparably joined with the humanitie in Christ Jesus our Lord, so the one, that is the Godhead, neither could not can leave the humanitie at any tyme, how bitter that ever the stormes appeared; so can not Christ Jesus leave his dear spouse the Church, neither yet any trew membre of the same.<sup>24</sup>

It is out of this union with Christ that all the promised benefits are derived; that is, the benefits flow out of union with Christ, not vice versa.

#### THEOLOGY PROPER

In the Scottish Reformer's works one finds faith in a God who is not only Almighty, but one who is a Father, whose love is far greater than His creatures can ever comprehend, and who shows mercy where none is deserved.<sup>25</sup> This immutable love of God extends to sinful men,<sup>26</sup> for God foresaw man's end before his creation.<sup>27</sup> Indeed it was Satan who first poured into man the poisonous teaching that God does not love him.<sup>28</sup> Knox asserts boldly that "our God is moir reddie to receive us to mercie, through Jesus Christ his only Sone, than we are to crave it."<sup>29</sup> This mercy of God is greater than and far

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<sup>24</sup> John Knox, "An Answer to the Cavillations of an Adversary Respecting the Doctrine of Predestination," *The Works of John Knox*, ed. by David Laing (6 vols.; Edinburgh: James Thin, 1895), Vol. V, pp. 51-52 (Hereafter designated as "Predestination," *Works*, V).

<sup>25</sup> John Knox, "The Form of Prayers and Ministration of the Sacraments, etc., Used in the English Congregation at Geneva," *Works*, Vol. IV, p. 195 (Hereafter designated as "Form and Ministration," *Works*, IV).

<sup>26</sup> Knox, "Predestination," *Works*, V, pp. 236-237.

<sup>27</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 64.

<sup>28</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 25.

<sup>29</sup> John Knox, "The Order of Excommunication, and of Public Repentance," *Works*, Vol. VI, p. 456 (Hereafter designated as "Excommunication," *Works*, VI).



surmounts His judgments<sup>30</sup> as is evidenced by the mercy shown to man in Jesus Christ.<sup>31</sup> Thus Knox writes that God's "own incomprehensible goodness moved Him to love us, most wretched and miserable, yea most wicked and blasphemous, and love most perfect compelled Him to show mercy."<sup>32</sup> Even though God is righteous and never declines nor bows from His own nature,<sup>33</sup> when man sins God still

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<sup>30</sup>Knox does insist that God is a consuming fire who cannot allow sin to remain unpunished (Predestination," *Works*, V, pp. 402-403) and exercises severe judgments against iniquity (Ibid., p. 403), so that any forgiveness offered must take into account His justice and holiness; hence, since God's justice has been offended by man's sins, "God man (=must) neidis have a satisfacioun, and requyre ane punisment" ("Epistles to Mrs. Elizabeth Bowes, and her Daughter Marjory," *Works*, Vol. III, p. 342 [Hereafter designated as "Mrs. Bowes," *Works*, III]). But judgment is for those who deliberately and repeatedly abuse the grace of God by refusing to respond to the grace offered unconditionally, and vengeance is for those who mock the mercy and longsuffering of God ("An Epistle to the Inhabitants of Newcastle and Berwick," *Works*, Vol. V, p. 482 [Hereafter designated as "Newcastle and Berwick," *Works*, V]). The Reformer observes, "But, O unhappie, and more than unhappie, that hast declared thyself so unthankful and rebellious to so loving and so merciful a Father, who fyrst gave thee life when thou didest lye polluted in blood and dead in thy synne, and now doth offer himself to be thy God, Governour, and Father after that thou, most trayterously conspiring with Sathan by solemned othe, haste renounced his veritie" ("A Brief Exhortation to England, for the Speedy Embracing of the Gospel," *Works*, Vol. V, p. 505 [Hereafter designated as "Exhortation to England," *Works*, V]). Also it could be noted that for Knox God's judgment will be carried out through the person of the Son ("The Book of Common Order: or the Form of Prayers, and Ministration of the Sacraments, Etc., Approved and Received by the Church of Scotland," *Works*, Vol. VI, pp. 302-303 [Hereafter designated as "Common Order," *Works*, VI]).

<sup>31</sup>Knox, "Predestination," *Works*, V, pp. 87-88.

<sup>32</sup>Quoted from Percy, p. 139.

<sup>33</sup>Knox, "Predestination," *Works*, V, p. 183.

makes a way whereby he can feel the divine mercy toward him.<sup>34</sup>

The infinite goodness, mercy, and eternal wisdom of God is most especially manifested by His provision of a Mediator to stand between Himself and the world.<sup>35</sup> Of His mercy God gave Christ--the Mediator--to be a remedy for us, to restore what man lost in Adam.<sup>36</sup> God so desires that the sinner may be restored to life that He sent His

only Sone to suffer the cruell death of the croce, not for the just, but for such as find themselfis oppressed with the burden of sinne, that by Him and His advocation they may have acces to the throne of [His] grace, being assured, that before [Him] they shall find favour and mercy.<sup>37</sup>

This giving of His only Son that man might live, which is the incontrovertible proof of God's love for the world,<sup>38</sup> shows not only the fact of His love, but also the infinite quality of His love for the world. Therefore it is in Christ Jesus that the superabundant mercies of God are revealed as God receives all men--Jews and Gentiles alike--into Himself in Christ.<sup>39</sup>

Knox warns that there is heavy judgment for those

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<sup>34</sup> John Knox, "Exhortation to England," *Works*, V, p. 504.

<sup>35</sup> John Knox, "A Declaration of the True Nature and Object of Prayer," *Works*, Vol. III, p. 96 (Hereafter designated as "Prayer," *Works*, III). Iain Torrance, "Hamilton and Knox," p. 179.

<sup>36</sup> John Knox, "Additional Prayers, Etc., not Contained in the Edinburgh Volume of 1564-1565," *Works*, Vol. VI, p. 303 (Hereafter designated as "Additional Prayers," *Works*, VI).

<sup>37</sup> Knox, "Excommunication," *Works*, VI, p. 457.

<sup>38</sup> Knox, "Predestination," *Works*, V, p. 307.

<sup>39</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 257.



who refuse the Father's love and precepts.<sup>40</sup> He insists that between this awful judgment and man there is only one thing which can stand, and that is God's free mercy offered in Jesus Christ, His dearly beloved Son.<sup>41</sup> And the Reformer adds concerning the purposes of God that since He is eternal and immutable, His counsels are constant and are not subject to mutability or change though they may at times seem to change according to our apprehension.<sup>42</sup> Because of God's incomprehensible wisdom, man should not fear or be ashamed to subject the capacity of his understanding to the wisdom of God, and to confess himself ignorant in many of the great mysteries of God, in which knowledge is neither lawful nor possible in this life.<sup>43</sup>

#### THE PERSON OF CHRIST

Although Knox holds strongly to the deity of Christ, who is one substance with the Father,<sup>44</sup> it is the humanity of Christ which is perhaps given the stronger stress. Christ is confessed as having been conceived of a virgin named Mary, of the tribe of Judah and the family of David, as the promised seed of the woman.<sup>45</sup> Christ

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<sup>40</sup>Knox, "Additional Prayers," *Works*, VI, p. 371.

<sup>41</sup>Knox, "Common Order," *Works*, VI, p. 296.

<sup>42</sup>Knox, "Predestination," *Works*, V, p. 108.

<sup>43</sup>*Ibid.*, pp. 168-169.

<sup>44</sup>John Knox, "The Reasoning Betwixt the Abbot of Crossraguell," *and John Knox*  
Concerning the Mass," *Works*, Vol. VI, p. 213 (Hereafter designated  
as "Abbot," *Works*, VI).

<sup>45</sup>Knox, "Common Order," *Works*, VI, p. 319. Iain Torrance,  
"Hamilton and Knox," p. 179.

received true humanity--true flesh and blood--from His mother as He entered into the world by means of the Incarnation. To deny this participation of Christ in man's very nature is one of the greatest blasphemies imaginable in the eyes of the Scottish Reformer.<sup>46</sup>

In Christ Knox confesses that there are "two distinct and perfect natures: to wit, the eternal God-head and the perfect Manhood joyned together."<sup>47</sup> Thus Christ in one person is at the same time both one substance with the Father and true man.<sup>48</sup> In none of the Reformers is this stress upon incarnational union--God and man in Christ--as strong as it is in Knox. And this union is all-important in the unfolding of his theology of redemption and the new creation.<sup>49</sup>

The Incarnation of Christ was wrought by the Holy Spirit as Christ, though equal with God, took upon Himself the form of a servant and was made in all things like unto us (sin excepted).<sup>50</sup> Knox insists that the

eternal Worde, which was from the begynning, and by the which all things were created, and yet are conserved and kept in their being, did, in the time appoynted in the counsel of his heavenly Father, receive our nature of a Virgine, by operation of the holie Ghost. So that in his conception, we acknowledge and beleve that there is nothing but puritie and sanctification; yea, even in somuche as he is become our brother.<sup>51</sup>

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<sup>46</sup> Knox, "Predestination," *Works*, V, p. 228.

<sup>47</sup> Knox, "Common Order," *Works*, VI, p. 318.

<sup>48</sup> Knox, "Additional Prayers," *Works*, VI, p. 363. See Iain Torrance, "Hamilton and Knox," p. 179.

<sup>49</sup> T. F. Torrance, "Justification," p. 227.

<sup>50</sup> Knox, "Form and Ministration," *Works*, IV, pp. 169-170. See Iain Torrance, "Hamilton and Knox," p. 179.

<sup>51</sup> Knox, "Common Order," *Works*, VI, p. 318.

This expression "our brother" seems to infer strongly that by the Incarnation Christ establishes a unity or ontological relationship with the entire human race; that is, Christ in assuming our humanity binds Himself with all mankind in a fraternity of flesh as the Second Adam. This relationship then becomes the foundation or presupposition for His atoning or redemptive work which has this same basic universal design.<sup>52</sup>

#### THE OFFICES OF CHRIST

In the Scottish Reformer's teaching on the Person and Work of Christ the offices of the Mediator are very important, and his treatment of these offices is as complete, if not more so, than any of the Reformers. He insists that the honour appointed to Christ from all eternity is unique to Him; His office must be reserved wholly and only to Himself.<sup>53</sup> In particular Christ has been appointed to three offices; "He is called Christ, that is to say, Anointed, by reason of the offices given unto him by God his Father; to wit, that he alone is appointed King, Priest, and Prophet."<sup>54</sup>

As the appointed Prophet Christ is the Teacher and Lawgiver of the Church,<sup>55</sup> "the onely Prophet who has reveiled unto us, the whole will of His Father in all things pertaining to our salvation." This office is

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<sup>52</sup>Iain Torrance ("Hamilton and Knox," p. 181) explains that for Knox God by Christ's nature as Mediator has bound Himself in an irrevocable 'league' with mankind so that our league with God depends solely on Christ's righteousness as our brother man, not our own.

<sup>53</sup>Knox, "Predestination," *Works*, V, p. 52.

<sup>54</sup>Knox, "Common Order," *Works*, VI, pp. 318-319.

<sup>55</sup>Knox, "Excommunication," *Works*, VI, p. 466.

grounded in the very humanity of Christ as is seen in Knox's prayer:

Eternal and Everliving God, Father of our Lord Jesus Christ, thou that of thyne infinite goodnes hast chosen to thy self a Church, unto the which ever from the fal of man thou hast manifested thy self: first, by thine owne voyce to Adam; next to Abraham and his sede, then to all Israel, by the publication of thy holy law; at last by sending of thy onely Sonne, our Lord Jesus Christ, that great Angel of thy Councel, into this worlde, and clad with our nature, to teach unto us thy holie wil, and to put an end to all revelations and prophecies . . . .<sup>56</sup>

In the same manner in which a priest stands in a twofold capacity representing men before God and representing God before men, Christ stands as "a soveraigne Priest for ever, after the order of Melchisedech."<sup>57</sup> He is the perpetual and everlasting Priest who by the sacrifice of His own body, offered once for all, "hath fullie satisfied the justice of his Father in our behalf."<sup>58</sup> Knox suggests that there are three great contrasts between the priesthood of Christ and the Levitical priesthood of the Old Testament. (1) While the Levitical priests were mortal and required successors, "Chryst is ane eternall Preist, and thairfoir is allone, and neideth no successour." (2) Whereas the Levitical priests offered the blood of beasts, Jesus Christ offered His "awn bodie and blude." (3) Whereas the Levitical priests had to repeat their impotent sacrifices, "the sacrifice of Jesus Chryst, having in it self all perfectioun, neideth not to be iterat."<sup>59</sup> The priestly

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<sup>56</sup> Knox, "Common Order," *Works*, VI, pp. 314-315, 319.

<sup>57</sup> Knox, "Predestination," *Works*, V, p. 465.

<sup>58</sup> Knox, "Common Order," *Works*, VI, p. 319.

<sup>59</sup> John Knox, "A Vindication of the Doctrine that the Sacrifice of the Mass is Idolatry," *Works*, Vol. III, p. 56 (Hereafter designated as "Mass," *Works*, III).

office of Christ is also rooted in the humanity of Jesus Christ as Knox makes very clear when he expounds:

Otherwayis speakith the Scriptures of God, testifieing him to haif bene maid man, and to haif proved oure infirmities; to have sufferit death willinglie; to haif overcum the same; and all to this end, that he mycht be oure perpetuall High Soveraine Preist, in whois place or dignitie none uthir mycht entir.<sup>60</sup>

The Reformer also describes Christ's High-priestly prayer for His own that they might be "sanctified and confirmed in the veritie" as a perpetual prayer, which always obtains mercy in the presence of His Father's throne.<sup>61</sup> Knox only rarely refers to the conception known as "the priesthood of all believers." In his eyes Christ is the Great Priest, whose office none can usurp either in heaven or on earth. For Knox the mass-priest had usurped and discredited not a function belonging rightly to every Christian, but the function reserved to Jesus Christ alone.<sup>62</sup>

The uniqueness of Christ is also seen in His kingly office. Christ is "the onely and eternall King,"<sup>63</sup> and "the sole and soverane Prince, exaltit above all poweris and potestatis whatsoever."<sup>64</sup> He is the "most high, most mightie King of kingis, Lord of lords, the onely Ruler of Princes."<sup>65</sup> He is the "King of all kings, and Governour of all governours," to whom all power in heaven and on earth

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<sup>60</sup> John Knox, <sup>"Prayer"</sup> *Works*, III, p. 96. Cf. Knox, "Mrs. Bowes," *Works*, III, p. 359.

<sup>61</sup> Knox, "Predestination," *Works*, V, p. 72.

<sup>62</sup> Percy, p. 63. See Iain Torrance, "Hamilton and Knox," pp. 182-3.

<sup>63</sup> Knox, "Excommunication," *Works*, VI, p. 466.

<sup>64</sup> Knox, "Mrs. Bowes," *Works*, III, p. 355.

<sup>65</sup> Knox, "Additional Prayers," *Works*, VI, p. 379.

is given<sup>66</sup> and before whose judgment all shall make account.<sup>67</sup> While Christ is the universal King, Knox believes that He is the King of the Church in a unique sense because His body recognizes His dominion and offers joyful and willing obedience to Him.<sup>68</sup> This kingly office is also rooted in the atoning humanity of Christ, for Knox asserts:

We confesse him also our Lord, not only by reason we are his creatures, but chiefly because he hath redeemed us by his precious blood, and so hath gotten just dominion over us, as over the people whom he hath delivered from bondage of sinne, death, hel, and the devil, and hath made us Kings and Priests to God his Father.<sup>69</sup>

And he reminds his troubled mother-in-law that

oure Heid is entirit into his kingdome be trubillis and dolouris without noubmer; yea, it may be said, that everie hour was anguische and pane, inccessing in oure Savioure Jesus fra the hour that his Majestie ressavit oure mortall nature, untill the randerung up the Spreit in the handis of his Father. . . .<sup>70</sup>

It is by means of these three offices that Christ exercises His capacity as Mediator between God and man.<sup>71</sup> He exists as the one and only Mediator,<sup>72</sup> who has entered within the veil in heaven, and abides as our priest and intercessor through whom we are heard.<sup>73</sup> The angels

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<sup>66</sup> Knox, "Common Order," *Works*, VI, pp. 299-300.

<sup>67</sup> John Knox, "A Letter to the Queen Dowager, Regent of Scotland," *Works*, IV, p. 84 (Hereafter designated as "Regent," *Works*, IV).

<sup>68</sup> Knox, "Excommunication," *Works*, VI, p. 466.

<sup>69</sup> Knox, "Common Order," *Works*, VI, pp. 319-320.

<sup>70</sup> Knox, "Mrs. Bowes," *Works*, III, pp. 376-377.

<sup>71</sup> Both natures of Christ are essential to His mediatorial work. See Knox, "Prayer," *Works*, III, pp. 95-96.

<sup>72</sup> Knox, "Mrs. Bowes," *Works*, III, p. 355.

<sup>73</sup> John Knox, "The Order of the General Fast, and the Form of

were incapable of being mediators, and since Christ never ceases to be our Mediator, making intercession for us continually, His saints cannot assume the office.<sup>74</sup> It is a detestable superstition to place saints in the place of the Mediator, and any who seek others for this office rob Christ of the honour which is rightfully His alone.<sup>75</sup> Furthermore, those who add other mediators, such as the Virgin Mary, to Christ's single mediation "scheweth planelie thame selves to know nothing of Jesus Christ rychtlie."<sup>76</sup>

Christ our Mediator has been given us by a loving Father as the way in which He claims us as His children, purifies us, and cleanses us from our sins.<sup>77</sup> By Him men can come to a sense of the feeling of God's mercies declared unto mankind,<sup>78</sup> because in Him our sins are not imputed to us and God's countenance is lovingly turned toward us.<sup>79</sup> It is through Christ's intercession that God's wrath is appeased and His face is made to

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Excommunication by the General Assembly of the Church of Scotland? *Works*, Vol. VI, p. 419 (Hereafter designated as "Fast," *Works*, VI).

<sup>74</sup> Knox, "Prayer," *Works*, III, p. 96.

<sup>75</sup> Ibid., and Knox, "Additional Prayers," *Works*, VI, p. 365.

<sup>76</sup> Knox, "Prayer," *Works*, III, p. 98.

<sup>77</sup> Knox, "Additional Prayers," *Works*, VI, p. 364.

<sup>78</sup> John Knox, "An Exposition Upon the Sixth Psalm of David, Addressed to Mrs. Bowes," *Works*, III, p. 217 (Hereafter designated as "Psalm," *Works*, III).

<sup>79</sup> John Knox, "Prayers, etc. Subjoyned to Calvin's Catechism," Vol. VI, p. 346 (Hereafter designated as "Catechism," *Works*, VI).



shine brightly upon us to our great comfort and assured salvation.<sup>80</sup> But the Reformer warns that anyone who tries to enter God's presence or to pray without Jesus Christ "sall find nothing but feirfull judgement and horribill dampnatioun."<sup>81</sup>

Knox explains that Christ's intercession is offered continually toward God the Father for us.<sup>82</sup> Christ is our Advocate, sitting at the right hand of God the Father, as the only Mediator between God and man. Knox, citing Ambrose, states that Christ alone

is our mouth, by whome we speik to God; he is oure eis, by whome we see God, and also oure rycht hand, by whome we offer any thing unto the Father; who, unless he made intercession, neither we, neither any<sup>83</sup> of the Sanctis, may have any societie or fellowship with God.

Before the Father Christ had offered in His High-priestly prayer, and now offers, a worship in which no man can share, neither priest nor believer. But this unique intercession is not understood as an impediment to a Christian's right to direct access to God, but as the truth that Christ is standing in the Most Holy Place, in the presence of God, pleading eternally for His own, and this place is His alone.<sup>84</sup>

Because of Christ's continual intercession the believer can pray in the boldness of His Head and Mediator.<sup>85</sup>

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<sup>80</sup>Knox, "Common Order," *Works*, VI, p. 307.

<sup>81</sup>Knox, "Prayer," *Works*, III, pp. 94-95.

<sup>82</sup>Knox, "Form and Ministration," *Works*, IV, p. 170.

<sup>83</sup>Knox, "Prayer," *Works*, III, p. 97. See Iain R. Torrance, "Hamilton and Knox," p. 180.

<sup>84</sup>Percy, p. 64.

<sup>85</sup>Knox, "Excommunication," *Works*, VI, pp. 465-466.



In this regard it is highly significant that Knox's fullest discussion of the Mediator is found within his treatise entitled "A Declaration of the True Nature and Object of Prayer." In this work the Reformer is adamant on the necessity of praying through Christ; he writes:

Heir is maist diligentlie to be observit, that without our Mediator, Foir-speaker, and Peace-maker, we enter not into prayer; for the incalling of suche as pray without Jesus Christ, ar not onlie vane, but also thai ar odious and abominable befoir God.<sup>86</sup>

And as we pray in the name and merits of Christ God hears us, answers our petitions, and gives us our requests,<sup>87</sup> without respect to our unworthiness.<sup>88</sup> Indeed our requests are granted because of the Father's love for His dear Son who is our Saviour and Intercessor.<sup>89</sup> It is only through Him that we have access to the Father<sup>90</sup> and are protected and defended despite our sinfulness.<sup>91,92</sup>

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<sup>86</sup> Knox, "Prayer," *Works*, III, pp. 94-95. See Iain Torrance, "Hamilton and Knox," p. 178.

<sup>87</sup> Knox, "Catechism," *Works*, VI, p. 345.

<sup>88</sup> Knox, "Common Order," *Works*, VI, p. 304.

<sup>89</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 299 and 332-333.

<sup>90</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 321.

<sup>91</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 297.

<sup>92</sup> Concerning man's sin Knox teaches that (1) man was created in the image of God and for the glory of His Creator, ("Form and Ministration," *Works*, IV, p. 169) and perfect in all his parts, faculties, and powers of his soul ("Additional Prayers," *Works*, VI, pp. 362-363, (2) Adam rebelled against God and made himself the slave to misery, losing all his perfection and righteousness (*Ibid.*, pp. 362-363; "A Brief Summarie of the Work by Balnaves on Justification," *Works*, Vol. III, p. 19 [Hereafter designated as "Summarie," *Works*, III]), (3) Adam's sin brought condemnation upon the entire human race (Predestination," *Works*, V, pp. 60, 169, 246), (4) man himself is the cause of sin, not God (*Ibid.*, p. 113), and (5) man is totally unworthy before God ("Summarie," *Works*, III, p. 14; "Predestination," *Works*, V, pp. 339-340 and 396-397; "Common Order," *Works*, VI, p. 294),

ELECTION AND PREDESTINATION

In his teaching concerning the Mediator it seems that Knox encounters his greatest difficulties in regard to the matter of election and predestination. His long work entitled "An Answer to the Cavillations of an Adversary, Respecting the Doctrine of Predestination" was written to defend Calvin's teaching on predestination from the attack published by an Anabaptist. But instead of developing a careful argument step-by-step, containing an overall conclusion, Knox quotes the words of his antagonist, often at great length, and then adds his refutation. This plan results in repetition, inconsistency, and a general clumsy quality in the work.<sup>93</sup>

Concerning Knox's treatment of predestination McEwen argues that the Reformer apparently could at times let himself be carried away to extremes in the heat of debate to which he would not ordinarily have been willing to commit himself. McEwen further postulates that there may have been a conflict between the theological concern Knox had appropriated intellectually from Calvin and the pastoral concern of Luther. He suggests that the views expressed

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and is incapable of obeying the commands and will of God ("Summarie, Works, III, pp. 18-19). Thus the Reformer states that by no gift of nature can man "come to that humilitie and obedience which is acceptable before God" ("Predestination," Works, V, p. 177). Therefore, if any man is to be approved by God, even the most perfect man in this life, he must be examined by a rule other than his holiness ("The Appellation From the Sentence Pronounced by the Bishops and Clergy: Addressed to the Nobility and Estates of Scotland," Vol. IV, p. 514 [Hereafter designated as "Appellation," Works, IV]).

<sup>93</sup>McEwen, p. 64; James Stalker, *John Knox: His Ideas and Ideals* (London: Hodder & Stoughton, 1904), p. 160.

in the treatise on predestination are not necessarily those of Knox's innermost convictions, especially when this document is compared to his other works.<sup>94</sup> Thus both McEwen and Percy suggest that this treatise with its polemics may have been a *tour de force* which bored even its writer.<sup>95</sup>

Nevertheless, when one studies carefully many of Knox's statements on predestination he is struck with the repeated insistence that election and predestination are performed by God in Christ. The Reformer defines predestination as

the most wise and most just purpose of God, by the which, before all tyme, he constantly hath decreed to cal those whom he hath loved in Christ, to the knowledge of himself and of his Sonne Christ Jesus, that they may be assured of their adoption by the justification of faith; which working in them by charitie, maketh their workes to shyne before men to the glorie of their Father, so that they (made conforme to the image of the Sone of God) may finally receave that glorie which is prepared for the vessels of mercie.<sup>96</sup>

In the entire Scriptures there is but one election to life everlasting, and that both was and is in Christ Jesus.<sup>97</sup>

Perhaps the highest peak in his treatise on predestination is reached when Knox declares that Christ, according to the Scriptures, is the Elect and Chosen of God.<sup>98</sup> Concerning God's appointment of Christ the

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<sup>94</sup>McEwen, p. 64.

<sup>95</sup>Ibid., p. 110; Percy, p. 247.

<sup>96</sup>Knox, "Predestination," *Works*, V, p. 36.

<sup>97</sup>Ibid., pp. 117-118.

<sup>98</sup>Ibid., p. 129.

Scottish Reformer explains:

To the vessels of his mercie, in his eternall counsell before all tymes he did appoint a Head to reule, and give life to his Elect, that is, Christ Jesus our Lord, whom he wold in tyme to made like unto his brethren in all thinges, sinne except; who in respect of his humaine nature is called his servante, the just sede of David, and the Elect in whom his soule is well compleased, because, as I have said, he is appointed onely head to give life to all the bodie, without whom there is neither Election, salvation, nor life, to man nor to angell. And so in respect of his humanitie, from the which he is no wise can be separated, he is called the Elect.<sup>99</sup>

Here Knox's meaning is unmistakable: election is rooted in the Incarnation of Christ, that is, in Christ's assumption of our humanity. This point can scarcely be over-emphasized especially since there has been in Scottish theology so much confusion and misrepresentation of this great doctrine of election. For Knox there never was nor never can be any election apart from the humanity assumed by Christ. It is in His humanity that Christ stands as God's Chosen and Elect. As important as the deity of Christ is, the saving purposes of God rest on the humanity assumed by the Son, the true humanity of flesh and blood received in the Incarnation.

In the Reformer's eyes, then, Christ is the immediate object of election, not men. Election is ours only in union with Him, that is, mediately through His election.<sup>100</sup> Knox observes that while men like Adam and David were hated in themselves because of their transgression and rebellion against God, they were loved by God in and through Christ, and long before the Holy

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<sup>99</sup>Ibid., p. 131.

<sup>100</sup>Ibid., pp. 60 and 282; McEwen, pp. 78-79.

Spirit wrought in them any response toward His loving-kindness.<sup>101</sup> Knox further explains that our election in Christ is always joined in Scripture to the finished work of Christ which culminated in His death upon the cross; he explains:

For none otherwise were we Elected in him, but that he should sustain the punishment for our transgression; and that we should receive life, which we had lost in Adam and in ourselves, by the means of his death and resurrection.<sup>102</sup>

The Reformer adds that God's election of us in Christ is most free; he observes that "God's free election in Christ Jesus needeth neither promise nor faith, as touching the parte of God; for he in his election regardeth neither of bothe, but of his own good pleasure in Christ his Sonne . . . ."<sup>103</sup>

For Knox the fall and sin of man was the way and means by which God's election appeared, not the cause why it was destroyed. Thus "it behoved all to die in Adam, that the Elect might receive life in Christ Jesus alone." And although election was in Christ from before the foundations of the world, it was after Adam's fall that God's election was manifested to man's knowledge.<sup>104</sup> When we fell in Adam, "then did our Election burst forth and appere,"<sup>105</sup> the promise of God being declared at that time for our

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<sup>101</sup>Knox, "Predestination," *Works*, V, p. 236.

<sup>102</sup>*Ibid.*, p. 249.

<sup>103</sup>*Ibid.*, pp. 280-281.

<sup>104</sup>*Ibid.*, p. 246.

<sup>105</sup>*Ibid.*, p. 283.

comfort and assurance.<sup>106</sup>

The truth of election brings great assurance, which is worked by the Holy Spirit<sup>107</sup> and is a product of one's turning his eyes from his unworthiness to Christ the Chosen One and His perfect righteousness.<sup>108</sup> Knox grounds the assurance of election on the perfect humanity of Christ as he declares:

All these graces (say we) proceded frome God's immutable love, which did remaine constant, both towards the one and towards the other, even in the tyme of their greatest unthankfulness; and that because they neither were beloved nor elected in themselves, but in Christ Jesus their Head, who neither did transgresse nor offend in any iote, against the will of his heavenly Father.<sup>109</sup>

Although Knox teaches both that the doctrines of election and predestination contain great mysteries, which are greater than man's mind can comprehend<sup>110</sup> and that in such matters "the secret will of God is to be held as a "rule of all equitie, perfectioun, and sufficiencie," which men question in their vain curiositiy and devilish pride,<sup>111</sup> forging to themselves a God other than the Father of our Lord Jesus Christ,<sup>112</sup> he insists that God has chosen some in His eternal good pleasure in Christ

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<sup>106</sup> Ibid., p. 249.

<sup>107</sup> Knox, "Form and Ministration," *Works*, IV, p. 213.

<sup>108</sup> Knox, "An Answer to a Letter Written by James Tyrie, a Scottish Jesuit," *Works*, Vol. VI, p. 483 (Hereafter designated as "Answer to Tyrie," *Works*, VI).

<sup>109</sup> Knox, "Predestination," *Works*, V, p. 235.

<sup>110</sup> Ibid., pp. 261 and 360; McEwen, p. 78.

<sup>111</sup> Knox, "Predestination," *Works*, V, pp. 309-310.

<sup>112</sup> Ibid., p. 392.

for salvation and rejected others.<sup>113</sup> In some places he comes close to teaching a concept of double predestination.<sup>114</sup> Yet this distinction made between men leads Knox to a true doxological response as he confesses, "Further, we doubt not to embrace, to believe, to reverence, and to honor the Majesty of our God, who hath made division betwixt one sort of men and an other . . . ."<sup>115</sup> He insists that the glory of God shines brightly in our falling in Adam and our being elected in Christ Jesus,<sup>116</sup> especially since by the fall we come to know the price of our salvation which is Christ Jesus.<sup>117,118</sup>

In his treatise on predestination Knox's tendency to speculate during the fires of controversy becomes evident. After struggling with the question of whether or not God wills for all men to be saved, he concludes that the phrase "God willeth all men to be saved, and to come

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<sup>113</sup>Ibid., pp. 38, 72, and 418.

<sup>114</sup>Ibid., p. 390. He states, "And therfor, seing his glorie doth no lesse require his just judgements then his superabundant mercie to be known, he hath in his eternall counsel elected some and rejected others, even before the foundations of the world." Cf. McEwen, p. 76.

<sup>115</sup>Knox, "Predestination," *Works*, V, p. 397.

<sup>116</sup>Ibid., p. 319.

<sup>117</sup>Ibid., p. 390.

<sup>118</sup>McEwen (pp. 76-77) argues that for Knox the sin of Adam is a *felix culpa* because it brought Christ into the world for our redemption and displays the greatness of God's mercy. Although this judgment may be an overstatement of Knox's position, certainly he teaches that because of the fall we come to a knowledge of the mercies of God in Christ Jesus that seemingly we could not have known otherwise. See Knox, "Predestination," *Works*, V, pp. 62-63 and 92.



to the knowledge of the truth" refers not to every man and every particular person, but to all men in general, that is, "men of all estates, all conditions, all realmes, and all ages." He feels that it is clear both in Scripture and in everyday experience that God wills not that all men come to the knowledge of the veritie.<sup>119</sup> The Reformer also denies, at least in controversy, that the love of God is common to all men since God has loved His elect in Christ Jesus and hath justly left others in reprobation.<sup>120</sup>

Nevertheless, it is Knox's conviction that the doctrine of predestination is absolutely essential to the Church.<sup>121</sup> And it brings great comfort and assurance to the believer, for "the Lord Jesus knoweth His own, that no creature is able to separat his Elect frome his love, which in Christ Jesus He beareth to them."<sup>122</sup> Christ the Shepherd keeps and guards His sheep;<sup>123</sup> they cannot fall away from their election and perish because

Christ Jesus, the brightnes of the glorie of his Father, and the expressed image of his substance, is greater than ever was Adam, so is his power of greater vertue to save the Elect then Adam's impotencie was to bring damnation upon all.<sup>124</sup>

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<sup>119</sup>Knox, "Predestination," *Works*, V, pp. 410-412 and 108.

<sup>120</sup>*Ibid.*, pp. 61 and 72-73.

<sup>121</sup>*Ibid.*, pp. 25 and 391. He states, "The doctrine of God's eternal Predestination is so necessarie to the Church of God, that, without the same, can Faith neither be truely taught, neither surely established; man can never be brought to true humilitie and knowledge of himself; neither yet can be ravished in admiration of God's eternal goodnes, and so moved to praise him as apperteineth."

<sup>122</sup>*Ibid.*, pp. 255-256.

<sup>123</sup>*Ibid.*, pp. 299-300.

<sup>124</sup>*Ibid.*, pp. 282-283.

THE WORK OF CHRIST

The salvation of the believer is certain because of the greatness and perfection of the finished work of Christ. He has been appointed the Second Adam in whom is love, justice, and life.<sup>125</sup> And this capacity as the Second Adam is also rooted in His humanity, for the Reformer explains:

Jesus, be interpretation, is a Savioure, be reasone that he saveth his pepill fra thair synnis and Chryst is callit Annoynit (as Esay doith witnes,) the Spreit of God hath anyntit our Savioure in sa fer as he is man; thair is gévin unto him all power in heaven and erth, that frome him, as frome a fountaine, maist abounding and ever flowing well, we may receive all that we haif lost be the transgression of a man.<sup>126</sup>

Thus by virtue of Christ's humanity He stands as the divinely-appointed representative for all the members of the human race. However, Knox is not clear as to whether or not Christ received our same sinful human nature,<sup>127</sup> although he infers that the one who cleanses others must Himself be free from all spot of sin, even in His conception.<sup>128</sup>

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<sup>125</sup>Ibid., V, p. 60.

<sup>126</sup>Knox, "Mrs. Bowes," *Works*, III, p. 348.

<sup>127</sup>Although he insists that Christ assumed humanity to cleanse our corruption, he states, "The seid of the woman promissit be God to break down the serpentis heid, whilk he hath done alreadie, in him self appeiring in this oure flesche, subject to all passionnes that may fall in this oure nature, onlie syn exceptit; and efter the death sufferit, he hath, be power of his Godheid, rissen againe triumphant victour over deth, hell, and syn not to him self, for thairto was he na dettour, but for sic as thristis salvatioun be him onelie, whom he may no mair lose, nor he may ceas to be the Sone of God and the saviour of the world." Ibid., p. 395.

<sup>128</sup>Knox, "Common Order," *Works*, VI, p. 318.

Knox lays great stress on the saving character of the humanity assumed by Christ. He instructs us, "We must alwais have our refuge to the free justice which procedeth of the obedience, which Jesus Christ prayed for us."<sup>129</sup> Since our faith is not worthy of the remission of sins and everlasting life,<sup>130</sup> our sufficiency can never be in our response to him, but only in His sufficiency.<sup>131</sup> It is He who is the end and perfection of the Law who has both perfectly accomplished what the Law could not do<sup>132</sup> and has paid all that the Law requires.<sup>133</sup> His obedience in our place was full and complete; therefore the Reformer tells his listeners:

The justice of Jesus Chryst must quench and extinguishe youre syn; the lyfe of Chryst must swallow up youre deth; the power of Chryst must overcum your weaknes and infirmitie ; the victorie of Chryst must appeir in that ye ar not abill to resist by youre self agains the fyrie and dangerous dartis of the Devill, enemye to all Godis elect.<sup>134</sup>

It is by His obedience that our sins are forgiven, we are received again into fellowship with God, and our souls are made the tabernacle of God's Majesty.<sup>135</sup>

This perfect obedience of Christ culminated in His obedience unto death. The death of Christ is

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<sup>129</sup> Ibid., p. 364 and T. F. Torrance, "Justification," p. 226.

<sup>130</sup> Knox, "Mrs. Bowes," *Works*, III, p. 377.

<sup>131</sup> Ibid., p. 368.

<sup>132</sup> Knox, "Fast," *Works*, VI, p. 420.

<sup>133</sup> Knox, "Summarie," *Works*, III, p. 21.

<sup>134</sup> Knox, "Mrs. Bowes," *Works*, III, p. 384.

<sup>135</sup> Knox, "Excommunication," *Works*, VI, pp. 457, 469-470.  
"Answer to Tyrie," *Works*, VI, p. 484.

described as "the onelie and sufficient sacrifice for oure synnis"<sup>136</sup> and that sacrifice whereby "satisfaction is made to the justice of God, being offended at the sinnes of man."<sup>137</sup> This sacrifice of Christ is unique, and there is no other; to offer any other sacrifice is blasphemy against Christ.<sup>138</sup> The Reformer observes that by Christ's death our sin was taken away, and by His resurrection our righteousness was restored.<sup>139</sup> Furthermore, by His cruel death the curse of God is removed from us.<sup>140</sup> Although both natures of Christ were important in the suffering He endured unto death, the death itself was endured according to His humanity, through which the divine verdict of God was accepted on the human race and the punishment endured, even the torments of hell. Knox clarifies the importance of the humanity of Christ in this regard as he states:

And forasmuch as he, beinge, onely of God, could not feelee deathe, nether beinge onely man, could overcome deathe, he joined bothe together and suffered his humanitie to be punished with most cruell death: felinge in himselfe the anger and severe judgment of God, even as if he had bene in the extreme torments of hell, and therefore cryed with a lowde voice, "My God, my God, why haste thou forsaken me?"<sup>141</sup>

Knox emphasizes that Christ suffered for us, as He

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<sup>136</sup> Knox, "Mass," *Works*, III, p. 57.

<sup>137</sup> Knox, "Abbot," *Works*, VI, p. 198.

<sup>138</sup> Knox, "Form and Ministration," *Works*, IV, p. 170; "Mass," *Works*, III, p. 61.

<sup>139</sup> Knox, "Form and Ministration," *Works*, IV, p. 170.

<sup>140</sup> Knox, "Catechism," *Works*, VI, p. 344.

<sup>141</sup> Knox, "Form and Ministration," *Works*, IV, p. 170.

bore our sins in His own body.<sup>142</sup> Although He was Himself innocent, deserving neither death nor punishment of any sort, He suffered what we deserve.<sup>143</sup> He sustained death in our person because He was appointed of God to be our pledge or our substitute.<sup>144</sup> Therefore for the Scottish Reformer Christ acts both as man's representative and as His substitute in accomplishing by His perfect obedience and death the salvation man could never earn or deserve in himself.

This Christ who has wrought our redemption is the head of all men, and there is no other Head than he.<sup>145</sup> Though Christ is the Head of the Church in a special sense, this truth does not nullify His headship over all humanity which was accomplished through His Incarnation. It is Christ also who alone "takith away the synnis of the warld, and who by His awn blude hath reconcilit all."<sup>146</sup> Whatever is required for the purging of the sins of the world and the reconciliation of mankind has been accomplished by Him.<sup>147</sup> Therefore Christ is described as "the onely

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<sup>142</sup> John Knox, "An Exposition Upon Matthew 4, Concerning the Temptation of Christ in the Wilderness," *Works*, Vol. IV, pp. 103-104 (Hereafter designated as "Temptation," *Works*, IV).

<sup>143</sup> Knox, "Additional Prayers," *Works*, VI, p. 376.

<sup>144</sup> Knox, "Common Order," *Works*, VI, p. 320.

<sup>145</sup> John Knox, "The First Blast of the Trumpet Against the Monstrous Regiment of Women," *Works*, Vol. IV, pp. 391-392 (Hereafter designated as "Blast," *Works*, IV).

<sup>146</sup> Knox, "Mass," *Works*, III, p. 61.

<sup>147</sup> Percy, p. 136.

Saviour of the world,"<sup>148</sup> and the promises of God for man's redemption are said to have been performed unto all men.<sup>149</sup> God's invitation for men to come to Christ is also open to all,<sup>150</sup> for God always receives in mercy those calling upon Him.<sup>151</sup>

But Knox recognizes from both Scripture and experience that "God will never be entreated of all;"<sup>152</sup> though all are called, few obey the voice of God.<sup>153</sup> Thus Knox can speak of those being called to repentance who hunger and thirst after righteousness, and God being merciful and gentle to those who hate sin and seek him.<sup>154</sup> These expressions do not indicate that God's love is conditioned upon man's response or that man's action is part of the working of salvation. Rather, Knox is only recognizing the great mystery that although the work of

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<sup>148</sup>Knox, "Catechism" *Works*, VI, p. 356.

<sup>149</sup>Knox, "Predestination," *Works*, V, p. 404.

<sup>150</sup>*Ibid.*, p. 21. "Common Order," *Works*, VI, pp. 300-301. "Summarie," *Works*, III, p. 13. "Fast," *Works*, III, p. 420. "Catechism," *Works*, VI, p. 346.

<sup>151</sup>Knox, "A Godly Letter of Warning to the Faithful in London, Newcastle, and Berwick," *Works*, Vol. III, p. 209 (Hereafter designated as "Warning," *Works*, III). "Form and Ministration," *Works*, IV, p. 212. "Additional Prayers," *Works*, III, pp. 269-370. In particular Knox affirms that "rather sall hevin and erth perische, then the synner that lamentis for offence committit, and askis mercie for Chrystis sake, sall not be heard in maist opportunitie." "Mrs. Bowes," *Works*, III, pp. 380-381.

<sup>152</sup>Knox, "Predestination," *Works*, V, p. 254.

<sup>153</sup>Knox, "Mrs. Bowes," *Works*, III, p. 351.

<sup>154</sup>Knox, "Predestination," *Works*, V, p. 403-404.

Christ is given unconditionally for all men, all men in the end will not receive its full benefits by being incorporated into Christ. Knox concludes:

We do not denie but that Christes death is sufficient to redeme the sinnes of the whole world; but because all do not receave it with faith, which is the free gift of God, given to the chosen children, therefor abyde the unfaithfull in just condemnation.<sup>155</sup>

THE CONCEPT OF COVENANT AND PROMISE

For the Scottish Reformer the sure pillar and foundation of our salvation is God's faithfulness and justice. Since God is faithful He must and always will keep His promises.<sup>156</sup> Therefore His gifts and vocation are without repentance and even in the greatest extremity His promise abides stable.<sup>157</sup> His promise is as certain as Christ's justice is permanent and undefilable.<sup>158</sup> And since the promise of God was given to man as wholly undeserving, completely apart from his own merits, it does not depend on one's own worth or merit before God. Knox adds that although God cannot leave sin unpunished, the promise was given before any wrath against sin was pronounced.<sup>159</sup>

For the Reformer there is a unity in God's operations so that from eternity only one covenant has been enacted. Believing Gentiles were bound in the same covenant made with

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<sup>155</sup>Ibid., p. 250.

<sup>156</sup>Knox, "Mrs. Bowes," *Works*, III, pp. 341-342.

<sup>157</sup>Knox, "Predestination," *Works*, V, p. 47.

<sup>158</sup>John Knox, "Answers to Some Questions Concerning Baptism, etc.," *Works*, Vol. IV, p. 123 (Hereafter designated as "Answers," *Works*, IV).

<sup>159</sup>Knox, "Summarie," *Works*, III, p. 14.



Israel,<sup>160</sup> and the Old Testament saints participated in the same faith as the New Testament believers. Although Old Testaments saints stood in the favour of God by reason of the seed to come--and we in the seed who has already come--they too were saved apart from works.<sup>161</sup> Adam and David were both elected and loved in Jesus Christ before the foundations of the world were laid. Though they were hated in themselves, the innocent Son of God by His death made a satisfaction for their sins as well as ours, and therefore they were accepted in Him.<sup>162</sup>

Knox can, in explaining certain scriptural passages, speak of a "farre more excellent covenant" which God has now established by Christ in His obedience and death.<sup>163</sup> However the new covenant is not seen as an abrogation of the old covenant, but as the fulfilment of that which is promised under the old. It is a single covenant because it is based on Christ; thus Knox prays, "O Lorde, we. . . have our only refuge to this thy most blessed covenant whereby our Lord Jesus, through the offering up of his bodie in sacrifice, hath reconciled us unto thee."<sup>164</sup> The assurance of the covenant, as well as its unity, is rooted in the finished work of Christ which

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<sup>160</sup>"Appellation," *Works*, IV, p. 505.

<sup>161</sup>Knox, "Summarie," *Works*, III, p. 14.

<sup>162</sup>Knox, "Predestination," *Works*, V, p. 235.

<sup>163</sup>Knox, "Common Order," *Works*, III, p. 307.

<sup>164</sup>*Ibid.*, p. 307.

has been accomplished in our name and in our humanity.<sup>165</sup>

### SALVATION

God has appointed that life should come to man through His Son alone.<sup>166</sup> Thus though He is merciful and ready to forgive, the remission of sins, faith, and eternal life are His free gifts imparted only through Christ.<sup>167</sup> In fact those in Christ were loved of God even when they were His enemies, and are loved with a constant love--the love of God towards His own dear Son.<sup>168</sup> Because our relation to God is through Christ, Knox asks, "Can thair be any greater blasphemie than for to say, God the Father hath forgotten the benefittis whilk he gave to mankynd in his onlie Son Jesus!"<sup>169</sup>

For Knox all the benefits promised by God flow out of our adoption in Christ. Everything that is ours in Christ--justification, regeneration, and sanctification --flows out of union with Christ, which is the cause of these benefits, never a product.<sup>170</sup> This order is clearly seen as Knox states concerning God, "And whom

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<sup>165</sup>Knox, "Mrs. Bowes," *Works*, III, pp. 342 and 374. It should be noted that Knox himself was not a Covenanter and is not the author of the distinctively Scottish doctrine of the covenant, which combines political and theological imagery. Percy, pp. 269-270.

<sup>166</sup>Knox, "Predestination," *Works*, V, p. 466.

<sup>167</sup>*Ibid.*, p. 403.

<sup>168</sup>*Ibid.*, pp. 52-53.

<sup>169</sup>Knox, "Mass," *Works*, III, p. 58.

<sup>170</sup>T. F. Torrance, "Justification," p. 234.

He hath honored with his free adoption, those He illuminateth by His Spirit, that they may receive the life offered in Christ."<sup>171</sup> For Knox union with Christ is the primary element in salvation as mankind is restored to a filial relationship with a loving heavenly Father through the Mediator. Salvation is never a raw list of benefits received in themselves and put to man's credit. And these benefits are not merely given unto us by Christ; rather, they are embodied in Him, for Knox proclaims:

In Christe Jesus now presently do we fynd libertie and life: he is made unto us of God wisdom, and righteousness, and sanctification, and redemption; and in the promes of his Gospel is found the stabilitie of our salvation.<sup>172</sup>

In Christ we know our merciful Father,<sup>173</sup> we are His children,<sup>174</sup> we are reconciled to Him fully, and we are given the adoption to sonship.<sup>175</sup> In Him we have pardon<sup>176</sup> and forgiveness,<sup>177</sup> because through His merits and intercession alone the mercy of God is mediated to us.<sup>178</sup> In Christ we are both pardoned and reformed into a holy life,<sup>179</sup> for by His one sacrifice He has perfected

<sup>171</sup>Knox, "Predestination," *Works*, V, pp. 38-39.

<sup>172</sup>*Ibid.*, p. 26.

<sup>173</sup>Knox, "Catechism," *Works*, VI, p. 359.

<sup>174</sup>Knox, "Form and Ministration," *Works*, IV, p. 168.

<sup>175</sup>Knox, "Catechism," *Works*, VI, p. 344.

<sup>176</sup>Knox, "Form and Ministration," *Works*, IV, p. 209.

<sup>177</sup>*Ibid.*, p. 213.

<sup>178</sup>Knox, "Common Order," *Works*, VI, p. 311.

<sup>179</sup>Knox, "Additional Prayers," *Works*, III, p. 364.

for ever those who are in him.<sup>180</sup> Since our salvation is based upon Christ alone Knox stresses that our unworthiness should not drive us from Christ, but to Him as a sick person needing a physician.<sup>181</sup> He counsels his conscience-stricken mother-in-law:

Gif in yow war nether found syn, deth, weaknes, nor imperfection, what neid had ye of Chrystis benefittis? Remember, Mother, that Jesus the Sone of God come not in the flesche to call the just, (not that any sic can be found, but thair is that sa esteamis thame selves,) but he come to call synneris, not to abyde and reiose in thair auld iniquitie, but to repentance; that is, to ane unfeaned dolour for the offences committit, and to a daylie sorrowing, yea, and haitted for that whilk resteth, with a hoip of mercie and forgiveness of God by the redemptioun that that is in Chrystis blude.<sup>182</sup>

By our participation in Christ and our union with Him we have a new and spiritual regeneration which is not the common creation of all men in Adam.<sup>183</sup> In this new birth we have received a new nature by grace<sup>184</sup> which can also be called justification,<sup>185</sup> in which we forsake

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<sup>180</sup>Knox, "Predestination," *Works*, V, p. 465.

<sup>181</sup>Knox, "Mrs. Bowes," *Works*, III, p. 393.

<sup>182</sup>*Ibid.*, p. 384.

<sup>183</sup>Knox, "Predestination," *Works*, V, p. 109. "Summarie," *Works*, III, pp. 23-24.

<sup>184</sup>John Knox, "A Letter of Wholesome Counsel Addressed to his Brethren in Scotland," *Works*, Vol. IV, p. 139 (Hereafter designated as "Counsel," *Works*, IV).

<sup>185</sup>Concerning the relationship of faith, works, and justification, Knox remarks, "For albeit justice sometime be ascribeth to man, that is, not because it proceedeth of man, but because it is given to man freely by God. Like as our Faith is called the faith of Jesus Christ, because by him we are repute just; for he is made to us from God, wisdom, justice, holynes, and redemption. And so all the Scripture testifieth us to bee made just, freely, by the mercy of God, that all glory may be given to him. And therefore, who maketh workes a part of their owne Justification, spoile God of his glory. "Summarie," *Works*, III, p. 20.

ourselves and our own works for the merits of Christ.<sup>186</sup>

And not only are we saved by means of our union with Christ, but we are also preserved unto the end of our lives as the Holy Spirit sprinkles us with the blood of Christ and retains us in the truth of God,<sup>187</sup> preserving us in Him.<sup>188</sup>

Whereas in the theology of Luther the question of assurance had taken a prominent place, in Knox--as in Calvin--assurance is not needed because faith is grounded in Christ and His faithfulness, not in the individual's faith or repentance; hence the assurance of the one in Christ is absolute and unshakable because it is grounded purely on the solid faithfulness of Christ.<sup>189</sup> Therefore Knox receives great comfort from God's promises made to us in Christ,<sup>190</sup> knowing that no one who believes in Christ shall enter into judgment.<sup>191</sup>

For the Reformer the Gospel demands a response of faith, which "is engendred, norished, and mentained in the heartes of Goddes elect by Christes Evangile truelie preached,"<sup>192</sup> and which has for its ground and assurance

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<sup>186</sup>Ibid., p. 15.

<sup>187</sup>Knox, "Common Order," *Works*, VI, p. 323.

<sup>188</sup>Knox, "Predestination," *Works*, V, p. 300.

<sup>189</sup>T. F. Torrance, "Justification," p. 237.

<sup>190</sup>John Knox, "Familiar Epistles," *Works*, Vol IV, p. 218 (Hereafter designated as "Epistles," *Works*, IV).

<sup>191</sup>Knox, "Warning," *Works*, III, p. 209.

<sup>192</sup>John Knox, "A Letter Addressed to the Commonalty of Scotland," *Works*, Vol. IV, p. 527 (Hereafter designated as "Letter to Commonalty," *Works*, IV).

God's expressed word of mercy promised in Jesus Christ.<sup>193</sup> Knox does speak of faith as the way and means to attain to the participation of the benefits of Christ<sup>194</sup> and "the instrument whereby we apprehend the mercy of God."<sup>195</sup> But his meaning is that faith is union with Christ, and by this union we participate in the benefits of Christ.

In the writings of the Reformer the term "justification" does not play a prominent part, and the expression "justification by faith" is rarely ever found.<sup>196</sup> He hesitates to use these terms because he sees justification as arising solely out of what Christ has done, and not out of any act of our own, even believing.<sup>197</sup> For him justification involves not only the remission of sins, "but the bestowal of a positive righteousness that derives from beyond us, and which we have through union with Christ." The truth and reality of our justification and renewal in Jesus Christ is called *Veritie* by Knox. This *Veritie* is in Christ and *is* Christ, and it is in us through the operation of the Spirit, and by faith.<sup>198</sup>

For the accomplishing of our salvation the ascension of Christ is most important for Knox. Although he sees the resurrection and ascension as a part of Christ's

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<sup>193</sup>Knox, "Answer to Tyrie," *Works*, VI, p. 488.

<sup>194</sup>Knox, "Letter to Commonalty," *Works*, IV, p. 527.

<sup>195</sup>Knox, "Summarie," *Works*, III, pp. 19-20.

<sup>196</sup>T. F. Torrance, "Justification," p. 225.

<sup>197</sup>*Ibid.*, p. 236. Iain Torrance ("Hamilton and Knox," pp. 182-184) argues that by expounding a Christological account of justification Knox was able to avoid and expose the confusion of the righteousness of the redeemed man with the justifying righteousness of Christ.

<sup>198</sup>*Ibid.*, p. 227.

atonement, it is the Ascension which links the all-important Incarnation of Christ to the *Parousia* and reveals the relation between the two. In the Ascension is the fruit of the Incarnation (including the death and resurrection of Christ), and in the *Parousia* is the full fruit of the Ascension.<sup>199</sup>

It is the Reformer's consistent emphasis that the entire working and actualizing of our salvation is from first to last the sovereign and singular work of God. He gave His son for us,<sup>200</sup> loved us in our unworthiness,<sup>201</sup> produces the response in our hearts to the Gospel by the Holy Spirit without respect to any dignity or virtue on our part,<sup>202</sup> works repentance within us, and then raises us up from our shame and misery.<sup>203</sup> Through this Spirit of God we are regenerated, sanctified, ruled, guided, and assured that we are children of God and both brethren of Christ and fellow heirs with Him of everlasting life.<sup>204</sup> Thus the Reformer acknowledges that God alone by Christ Jesus His Son is "the beginning, the middes, and the end of our sanctification, godlie life, and salvation."<sup>205</sup>

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<sup>199</sup> Ibid., pp. 226-227.

<sup>200</sup> Knox, "Form and Ministration," *Works*, IV, pp. 194-195; "Appellation," *Works*, IV, p. 468.

<sup>201</sup> Knox, "Predestination," *Works*, V, p. 53.

<sup>202</sup> Knox, "Additional Prayers," *Works*, VI, p. 364.

<sup>203</sup> John Knox, "Letters to His Brethren, and the Lords Professing the Truth in Scotland," *Works*, IV, p. 283 (Hereafter designated as "Letters to Brethren," *Works*, IV).

<sup>204</sup> Knox, "Form and Ministration," *Works*, IV, p. 171.

<sup>205</sup> Knox, "Predestination," *Works*, V, p. 164.



Therefore, man is never saved by his own efforts; even his best works must be purged by the blood of Christ.<sup>206</sup> And any who seek justification by their own works not only rob God of His glory, but also "spoil Christ of His office."<sup>207,208</sup>

This doctrine of the free grace of God is most certainly opposed by Satan who attempts to convince man that he can be made righteous before God on the basis of his own works.<sup>209</sup> The Reformer insists that anyone is accursed who teaches that our merits, good works, or obedience cause our salvation.<sup>210</sup> They are most deceived and commit idolatry who either seek justification by their own works or who try to "have their workes joyned to helpe Christ."<sup>211</sup>

For the Scottish Reformer the believer never ceases to need the one Mediator, even after he is incorporated into Christ. He insists:

But we, by the contrarie, attributing all to the free grace of God, do affirme, that continually in this life we must confesse that sinne so remaineth in us, that except that God, for Christ Jesus' saik, did pardon the same, his wrath justly deserved shoulde be kindled against us.<sup>212</sup>

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<sup>206</sup> Knox, "Mrs. Bowes," *Works*, III, p. 391.

<sup>207</sup> Knox, "Summarie," *Works*, III, pp. 20-21.

<sup>208</sup> Knox insists that man's pride is such that until he finds himself utterly destitute of all goodness, he can only defraud God of glory and usurp glory which is not his. "Mrs. Bowes," *Works*, III, p. 374.

<sup>209</sup> Knox, "Predestination," *Works*, V, p. 466. "Summarie," *Works*, III, p. 17.

<sup>210</sup> Knox, "Letters to Brethren," *Works*, III, pp. 272-273.

<sup>211</sup> Knox, "Mass," *Works*, III, p. 37. "Summarie," *Works*, III, pp. 15-16, 24.

<sup>212</sup> Knox, "Predestination," *Works*, V, p. 181.

Because sin remains in the believer and the Spirit mortifies and purges it,<sup>213</sup> there is a most vehement battle in the life of every Christian, a warfare involving suffering, even a taste of Christ's bitter cup.<sup>214</sup> But the Christian is not to despair when he is troubled by such temptations, for this warfare and these struggles are the infallible signs of His election in the blood of Christ and His incorporation into His body.<sup>215</sup>

The Christian offers obedience to His gracious loving Father out of a holy fear and reverence, which are sealed within by the Holy Spirit.<sup>216</sup> Therefore Knox is correct when he argues that his doctrine does not call men to a secure, idle, and careless life.<sup>217</sup> But because of our imperfections we "must always have our refuge to the free justice which proceedeth of the obedience which Jesus Christ hath prayed for us."<sup>218</sup> It is by Christ Jesus that we receive grace and mercy every day, offering nothing in return but our own unworthiness.<sup>219</sup> This continual feeding on Christ and partaking of His benefits is accomplished in great measure through the true preaching of the Word

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<sup>213</sup>Ibid., pp. 416-417.

<sup>214</sup>Knox, "Summarie," *Works*, III, p. 23. "Mrs. Bowes," *Works*, III, pp. 350, 359.

<sup>215</sup>Knox, "Mrs. Bowes," *Works*, III, p. 377.

<sup>216</sup>Knox, "Fast," *Works*, VI, p. 418. "Letters to Brethren," *Works*, IV, p. 268.

<sup>217</sup>Knox, "Predestination," *Works*, V, p. 231.

<sup>218</sup>Knox, "Additional Prayers," *Works*, VI, p. 364.

<sup>219</sup>Knox, "Mrs. Bowes," *Works*, III, pp. 380-381.

and the right administration of the sacraments because these are the appointed means by which Christ gives Himself to us.<sup>220,221</sup>

There is indeed a wonderful future for those in Christ. They will overcome death through their union with Him; Knox observes:

Seeing that the members must once communicate with the glorye of the head, howe shall our bodyes, which are flesh of his flesh and bone of his bones, lie stil for ever in corruption, seeing that our Head, Jesus Christ, is now exalted in his glory.<sup>222</sup>

This hope of the consummation of our salvation is both given and sustained throughout life's troublesome days by Christ, the great Bishop of our souls.<sup>223</sup>

#### THE CHURCH

Knox emphasizes that Christ is the Head of the Church, the Lawgiver,<sup>224</sup> the Chief Pastor, the only Master,<sup>225</sup> the chief Shepherd, and the "head of all bishops."<sup>226</sup> This

<sup>220</sup>Knox, "Answers," *Works*, IV, p. 121.

<sup>221</sup>Perhaps it should be added that in his teaching concerning the Christian life Knox does insist that there is a sense in which good works are proofs of our election in Christ ("Predestination," *Works*, V, p. 210). But this sense does not mean that these works contribute to our salvation. From election in Christ proceeds faith; from faith proceeds good works which give testimony to one's union with Christ, as the effect not the cause (*Ibid.*, p. 219).

<sup>222</sup>Knox, "Isaiah," *Works*, III, p. 263.

<sup>223</sup>John Knox, "A Faithful Admonition to the Professors of God's Truth in England," *Works*, Vol. III, p. 330 (Hereafter designated as "Admonitions," *Works*, III).

<sup>224</sup>Knox, "Excommunication," *Works*, VI, p. 466.

<sup>225</sup>Knox, "Additional Prayers," *Works*, VI, p. 366.

<sup>226</sup>Knox, "Common Order," *Works*, VI, p. 300.

headship is grounded in His Humanity; that is, Christ is Head of His body as man. Knox elaborates:

To the vessels of his mercie, in his eternall counsell before all tymes he [God] did appoint a Head to reule, and give life to his Elect, that is, Christ Jesus our Lord, in whome he wold in tyme to be made like unto his brethren in all thinges, sinne except; who in respect of his humaine nature is called his servante, the just sede of David, and the Elect in whom his soule is well compleased, because, as I have said, he is appointed onley head to give life to the bodie, without whom there is neither Election, salvation, nor life, to man nor to angell.<sup>227</sup>

And there is between Christ and His Church a mystical union, a loving relationship analogous to that of a husband and wife who forsake everything to keep company with each other.<sup>228</sup>

This Church has been chosen, called and created by God.<sup>229</sup> She was built in Christ Jesus before the foundations of the world were laid, and will never be destroyed.<sup>230</sup> She has been formed by God and called to integrity, godly conversation, and to be a glorious Church for Himself alone.<sup>231</sup> Hence God loves the Church, cares for Her,<sup>232</sup> protects her perpetually,<sup>233</sup> purges her, and restores her to life by His fatherly care when she falls to corruption.<sup>234</sup>

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<sup>227</sup>Knox, "Predestination," *Works*, V, p. 131.

<sup>228</sup>Knox, "Form and Ministration," *Works*, IV, pp. 198-199.

<sup>229</sup>Knox, "Common Order," *Works*, VI, pp. 314-315.

<sup>230</sup>Knox, "Predestination," *Works*, V, p. 108.

<sup>231</sup>Knox, "Form and Ministration," *Works*, IV, pp. 171-172.

<sup>232</sup>Knox, "Isaiah," *Works*, VI, p. 267.

<sup>233</sup>*Ibid.*, p. 267.

<sup>234</sup>Knox, "Common Order," *Works*, VI, p. 315.

There is only one Church with "one God, one faith, one baptisme, and one Lord Jesus,"<sup>235</sup> and the Church is universal because it "consisteth and standeth of all tongues and nations; yea of all estates and conditions of men and women, whome of his mercy God calleth from darkness to lyfe." The Church is holy because of the imputed righteousness of Christ which belongs to her members.<sup>236</sup> Because of this union with Christ Knox can speak of the remission of sins standing exclusively within the Church,<sup>237</sup> and can further state "that without the societie and bosome of the trew Kirk [there] never was, is, nor salbe, salvatioun unto man."<sup>238</sup> He never means that the Church gives life or salvation in itself, but that it is joined to the One who is Himself life and salvation. Therefore the Church is never allowed to serve as the Mediator or Mediatrix between God and man; rather, all its greatness lies in its Head to whom it is joined and who embodies in Himself its very life and existence.

Although Knox states that the true Church "is not sene to man's eye, but onely knowen to God,"<sup>239</sup> it is the visible Church which is his real concern.<sup>240</sup> Percy con-

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<sup>235</sup>Knox, "Answer to Tyrie," *Works*, VI, pp. 446-447.

<sup>236</sup>Knox, "Common Order," *Works*, VI, pp. 322-323.

<sup>237</sup>Knox, "Form and Ministration," *Works*, IV, p. 173.

<sup>238</sup>Knox, "Answer to Tyrie," *Works*, VI, p. 486.

<sup>239</sup>Knox, "Form and Ministration," *Works*, IV, p. 171.

<sup>240</sup>Burleigh, p. 156.

siders Knox's measure of national godliness to lie in the parish congregation.<sup>241</sup> The life of the Church is understood to be in the local congregation because that is where Christ has promised to be present. Through the preaching of His Evangel Christ reveals Himself to the world.<sup>242</sup> And the Church is assured of His presence by the right administration of the sacraments which are signs of His presence.<sup>243</sup>

#### THE SACRAMENTS

The sacraments are precious for the Reformer because in them we are called to give thanks for what God has done for us in Christ Jesus<sup>244</sup> and to partake of Him spiritually.<sup>245</sup> The sacraments testify of our union with Christ,<sup>246,247</sup> of what He has done for us. They tell us "that we live not out of ourselves, but we find our life and righteousness outside of ourselves, in Christ alone, through union and communion with Him."<sup>248</sup> Thus Knox writes:

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<sup>241</sup>Percy, p. 271.

<sup>242</sup>Knox, "Common Order," *Works*, VI, p. 315.

<sup>243</sup>Knox, "Letter to Commonalty," *Works*, IV, p. 530.

<sup>244</sup>Percy, p. 139.

<sup>245</sup>Knox, "Form and Ministration," *Works*, IV, p. 192.

<sup>246</sup>Knox, "Additional Prayers," *Works*, VI, pp. 366-367.

<sup>247</sup>T. F. Torrance (convener of the Special Commission on Baptism), "Report of the Special Commission on Baptism," Church of Scotland, 1958, p. 10 (Hereafter designated as T. F. Torrance, "Baptism"). McEwen, p. 79.

<sup>248</sup>T. F. Torrance, "Justification," p. 228.

The Lord Jesus, by earthly and visible things set before us, lifteth us up to heavenly and invisible things--He prepares His spiritual banquet--He witnesses that He Himself was the living bread--He sets forth the bread and wine to eat and drink--He giveth unto us Himself--and all this He does through the power of the Holy Ghost.<sup>249</sup>

These sacraments serve as seals of the Gospel<sup>250</sup> and of the everlasting mercy of God in our hearts.<sup>251</sup> Whereas baptism is the sign of our first entrance into the family of God, the Lord's Table is the declaration of the covenant in Christ, that in Him we are nourished, maintained, and continued before God our Father.<sup>252</sup> And the Supper declares "that God, as a most provident Father, doth not onely fede our bodies, but also spiritually nourisheth our soules with the graces and benefits of Jesus Christ."<sup>253</sup>

While Knox loves the sacraments instituted by Christ he does not see them as having an efficacy in themselves. They are pledges assuring us of the grace of God but are unprofitable unless the Holy Spirit makes them effectual in us as instruments, "to the intent that our faith shulde not be distracte from God, and staye upon creatures."<sup>254</sup> Knox explains, "For it is not His presence in the bread that can save us, but his presence

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<sup>249</sup> Knox, *Works*, III, pp. 73 ff. (Quoted from McEwen, p. 56).

<sup>250</sup> John Knox, "Letters Chiefly Relating to the Progress of the Reformation in Scotland," *Works*, VI, p. 13.

<sup>251</sup> Knox, "Answers," *Works*, IV, p. 124.

<sup>252</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 124-125.

<sup>253</sup> Knox, "Form and Ministration," *Works*, IV, p. 172.

<sup>254</sup> Knox, "Additional Prayers," *Works*, VI, p. 366.



in our hartis through faith in his blude, whilk hath  
waschit our synnis and pacifeit his Father's wrath towardis  
us."<sup>255</sup>

Our faults do not keep us from the Lord's Table.

In fact, we come because we are unworthy; Knox asserts

For the end of our comming thyther is not to make protestation  
that we are upright and juste in our lives, but contrariwise,  
we come to seke our life and perfection in Jesus Christ,  
acknowledging in the meane tyme, that we of our selves, be the  
children of wrath and damnation.<sup>256</sup>

No man reaches such a perfection in this life that he has  
no further need for the sacraments.<sup>257</sup> This Supper is a  
singular medicine for all poor, sick creatures, and no  
other worthiness on our part is required "but that we  
unfaynedly acknowledge our noghtines and imperfection."<sup>258</sup>

Knox warns that these sacraments are depraved and  
corrupt when they do not lead us "to seke in Jesus Christ  
all that apperteineth to our salvation" and when they are  
put to any other use than "that our faith shuld be wholly  
confirmed towarde him."<sup>259</sup> Because the sacraments often  
are polluted and prophaned by the vain inventions of  
men,<sup>260</sup> the Reformer warns that "whosoever reserveth and  
worshippeth these sacraments, or contrarwyse contemneth

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<sup>255</sup> John Knox, "A Summary, According to the Holy Scriptures,  
of the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper," *Works*, Vol. III, p. 74.

<sup>256</sup> Knox, "Form and Ministration," *Works*, IV, pp. 193-194.  
We are commanded to approach the Lord's Table for our reassurance that,  
our sins notwithstanding, we have a Mediator, clad with whose righteous-  
ness we stand before God. Iain Torrance, "Hamilton and Knox," p. 183.

<sup>257</sup> Knox, "Answers," *Works*, IV, p. 122.

<sup>258</sup> Knox, "Form and Ministration," *Works*, IV, p. 194.

<sup>259</sup> Knox, "Additional Prayers," *Works*, VI, p. 366.

<sup>260</sup> Knox, "Letters to Brethren," *Works*, IV, p. 267.

them in tyme and place, procureth to him self damnation."<sup>261</sup> He is especially critical of the Papists and others who pervert the sacraments and rob those in Christ of the comfort they should enjoy from their right use.<sup>262</sup> He opposes the doctrine of transubstantiation,<sup>263</sup> teaching that there is no sacrifice in the Mass because "the blude of Chryst anis offerit remaneth ever."<sup>264</sup> The Mass is opposed by Knox as an institution<sup>moreover</sup> because it swindled the public but moreso because it is seen as an embodiment of the corruption of the truth<sup>265</sup>--not only being false and vain, but blasphemous to the death of Jesus Christ.<sup>266</sup>

Therefore, Percy states that for Knox, above all it was his task to restore the right use of the Lord's Table.<sup>267</sup> And Knox is rightly known as the restorer of the sacraments,<sup>268</sup> with a special reverence and glowing faith centred in the Lord's Table.<sup>269</sup> The sacraments are placed along with the Word as the two pillars of the House of God--the Church. Because the Word calls us and continues calling us, we hear it and gather around the Lord's Table in wonder and awe at the communion by which

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<sup>261</sup>Knox, "Form and Ministration," *Works*, IV, p. 172.

<sup>262</sup>Percy, p. 141.

<sup>263</sup>Knox, "Form and Ministration," *Works*, IV, p. 194.

<sup>264</sup>Knox, "Mass," *Works*, III, p. 61.

<sup>265</sup>Percy, pp. 62-63.

<sup>266</sup>*Ibid.*, pp. 136 and 139.

<sup>267</sup>*Ibid.*, p. 230.

<sup>268</sup>*Ibid.*, p. 65.

<sup>269</sup>Burleigh, p. 158.

we are knit with Christ and in Him to the Godhead.<sup>270</sup>

It was in this teaching on the sacraments that Knox departed significantly from the teaching of Calvin. McEwen states that "the Sacrament had an importance and a vital quality for Knox that it apparently did not have to Calvin."<sup>271</sup> Knox is distinct from all the other Reformers in the way in which he makes the sacraments basic for the Church. It is by the sacraments, according to the Scottish Reformer, that Christ gathers and creates His Church, forming her into one visible body with each of the members being interrelated to one another. By this sacrament all are made one body with Christ the only Head. The Church is founded on the Word, but on the Word completed and fulfilled by Christ's action in this sacrament. Knox is distinct, then, because for him the sacraments form the Church. This great fact explains why Knox gathered two or three together on his missions to celebrate the Lord's Table, for in this sacrament they began to form "the face of the Kirk."<sup>272</sup> This moment around the Lord's Table is for Knox the most sacred moment when the believer is united with all other believers in one body with Christ the Head.<sup>273</sup> This conception of the Lord's Table as the central act of Christian worship set a lasting seal upon the Church of Scotland, "differentiating it from all other

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<sup>270</sup>McEwen, p. 114.

<sup>271</sup>Ibid., pp. 47 and 56.

<sup>272</sup>Ibid., pp. 56-57.

<sup>273</sup>Ibid., p. 114.

Protestant communions and making it, in the strict sense of the term, a Eucharistic Church."<sup>274</sup>

#### SUMMARY

Although Knox's human weaknesses do appear in times of heated controversy, as he tends to speculate on theological questions such as predestination, this frailty should not be allowed to obscure the Knox who was enlightened and taught by the Holy Spirit. This Knox was indeed a mighty man, learned in the Scriptures, a true pastor, shepherd, and teacher of the Church. He offers insights into the inner realities behind the teaching of Scripture which are perhaps unsurpassed in any of the theologians of the Church's history.

One of his greatest insights is the centrality of union with Christ which is at the heart of everything--election, salvation, justification, sanctification, and glorification. This union creates the Church, the sacraments, salvation, and the life of the Christian.

Along with this stress is his strong emphasis on the vicarious humanity of Christ whereby Christ has joined Himself to the human race by a fraternity of flesh to be the Mediator between God and the entire race of men. He stands as both the representative and substitute for sinful men, accomplishing everything God requires for man to be brought into sonship with His gracious and loving Father. In both His life and death He accepted God's verdict of condemnation on the race, sanctified

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<sup>274</sup>Percy, p. 65.

sinful flesh, and bore in Himself the punishment due to the sins of the world.

Because Christ in Himself embodies our salvation and we are cast solely on Him, the theology of the Mediator is for the Scottish Reformer a doctrine of the greatest possible assurance and comfort. Knox can rejoice because Christ's work is finished in our place and has been accepted of the Father, and we are in turn accepted by the Father in Him.

This mediation of Christ not only brings us into fellowship with God. It also keeps, preserves, and maintains us all throughout our lives. Thus Christ is the centre of Christian worship, for it is in Him that God accepts us, hears our prayers, purges our worship, and grants our requests. Worship for Knox is not a series of man-made rituals and activities; rather, it is entering into the most holy place by the mediation and intercession of the one Mediator between God and man, the man Christ Jesus.

## CHAPTER II

### ANDREW MELVILLE

It has been stated that next to Knox there is no more powerful figure in Scottish Church history than Andrew Melville.<sup>1</sup> James Walker describes him as having been "second to none in learning and hardly second to Knox in power and influence."<sup>2</sup> Perhaps McCrie's testimony to Melville is the most precise statement made; he writes:

If the love of pure religion, rational liberty, and polite letters, forms the basis of national virtue and happiness, I know of no individual after her Reformer, from whom Scotland has received greater benefits, and to whom she owes a deeper debt of gratitude and respect, than Andrew Melville.<sup>3</sup>

His influence is certainly seen in the cultural, political, and intellectual history of Scotland as well as in her theological history. Following the death of Knox in 1572 he was in a position as churchman, educator, and theologian to guide the theology of the Church and nation in a way perhaps that has been unequalled since. It could be said

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<sup>1</sup>Colin Campbell, "Andrew Melville," in *Scottish Divines 1505-1872* (St. Giles' Lectures, Third Series), Lecture II, pp. 37-73 (Edinburgh: Macniven and Wallace, 1883), p. 66.

<sup>2</sup>James Walker, *The Theology and Theologians of Scotland* (Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark, 1872), p. 2.

<sup>3</sup>Thomas McCrie, *Life of Andrew Melville* (2nd ed.; 2 vols.; Edinburgh: William Blackwood, 1824), II, p. 449. Cf. Robert S. Rait, "Andrew Melville and the Revolt Against Aristotle in Scotland," *The English Historical Review*, 1899, Vol. XIV, p. 250. Rait states, "Few men have so impressed upon their country the stamp of their own personality as Andrew Melville has left his mark on Scotland."

with a good deal of accuracy that for a good number of years the theology of the Reformed Church in Scotland was the theology of Melville.

#### THE MAN AND HIS CONTRIBUTIONS TO SCOTLAND

Andrew Melville (1545-1622) graduated from St. Andrews as "the best philosopher, poet, and Grecian of anie young maister in the land."<sup>4</sup> His studies then led him to Paris where he studied under Peter Ramus,<sup>5</sup> to Poitiers for the study of law,<sup>6</sup> and finally to Geneva where he became particularly attracted to Theodore Beza's teaching of theology.<sup>7</sup> Upon his return to Scotland in 1574 he was appointed as head of the college at Glasgow and then in 1580 as the principal of St. Mary's College, St. Andrews where he continued until he was placed as head of the university (as its rector) in 1590.<sup>8</sup>

Although he considered himself vocationally as an educator, he found it impossible to avoid participation in the struggles between the Church and state in Scotland. His first opposition came after he had preached a sermon before the assembly at St. Andrews in which he denounced

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<sup>4</sup>D. Hay Fleming, "Melville, Andrew," *The New Schaff-Herzog Encyclopedia of Religious Knowledge*, 1910, VII, 291-293.

<sup>5</sup>Rait, pp. 250-251.

<sup>6</sup>Alexander Gordon, "Melville, Andrew," *Dictionary of National Biography*, ed. by Sidney Lee (London: Smith, Elder, & Co., 1894), XXXVII, p. 231.

<sup>7</sup>McCrie, I, pp. 31-35. Fleming, p. 292.

<sup>8</sup>Alexander Gordon, "Melville," pp. 231-232.



those who sought to erect a new popedom in the person of the prince. He was sentenced to an indefinite time of imprisonment and further punishment at the king's pleasure, but he escaped to England where he remained until he was received again in favour with the king in 1585. The settlement of 1592 saw the crowning of Melville's labours as Parliament ratified the assemblies, synods, presbyteries, and kirk sessions, declaring them "most just, good, and godly,"<sup>9</sup> thus making ecclesiastical authority legal within its own sphere for the first time.<sup>10</sup>

But in spite of this act of Parliament the king was determined to restore episcopacy to the Church and to assume the authority to appoint the masters of the Church. But in this intent he was opposed by Melville.<sup>11</sup> The conflict resulted in the latter's being ordered to leave Edinburgh, being deprived of his rectorship at St. Andrews, and eventually to his being sent to the Tower of London for ten months. After four years of captivity, however, King James allowed him to leave the country for Sedan, France where he taught divinity in exile for the remainder of his life.<sup>12</sup>

Like Knox Melville did not articulate the innermost secrets of his soul, even to his most confidential correspondents.<sup>13</sup> His desire was that the Lord only be praised

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<sup>9</sup>Fleming, p. 292.

<sup>10</sup>Campbell, p. 63.

<sup>11</sup>Ibid., p. 64; McCrie, I, pp. 324-325.

<sup>12</sup>Fleming, pp. 291-292.

<sup>13</sup>McCrie, II, p. 324; Gordon, p. 235.

and glorified, not himself.<sup>14</sup> But he appears to have been a man who, though sincerely passionate, did not seek his own interests,<sup>15</sup> and who always conducted himself with dignity, remaining patient, constant, and courageous, even under adversity.<sup>16</sup> He is also known as a man "of outstanding energy, strong and determined will and great courage and tenacity,"<sup>17</sup> who was willing to suffer for the cause of Christ.<sup>18</sup> He was known as good-humoured, pleasant, and sympathetic in familiar company.<sup>19</sup> But because his standard was the absolute law of right, he could not endure any circuitous routes to the truth and was sometimes harsh in the defense of the truth,<sup>20</sup> for which he is often criticized.<sup>21</sup>

Even if it is true that Melville's zeal did at times carry him beyond the bounds of temperance and kindly

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<sup>14</sup> McCrie, II, pp. 307-308, referring to the letters of Andrew Melville to Robert Durie, numbers 3-4.

<sup>15</sup> Campbell, p. 67.

<sup>16</sup> Alexander Gordon, "Melville," p. 235.

<sup>17</sup> Gordon Gonaldson *The Scottish Reformation* (Cambridge: University Press, 1960), p. 191 (Hereafter designaged as Donaldson, *Scottish Reformation*).

<sup>18</sup> John Macleod, *Scottish Theology in Relation to Church History Since the Reformation* (Edinburgh: Publications Committee of the Free Church of Scotland, 1943), p. 47; James Melville, *The Autobiography and Diary of Mr. James Melville*, ed. by Robert Pitcairn (Edinburgh: Wodrow Society, 1842), pp. 485 and 542.

<sup>19</sup> McCrie, II, pp. 325-327.

<sup>20</sup> Campbell, pp. 66-67.

<sup>21</sup> Alexander Gordon, "Melville," p. 235. Others, however, defend his disposition. See Campbell, p. 67; Macleod, p. 41; McCrie, I, p. 134 and II, p. 324.

Christian tolerance, it is nonetheless true that Scotland is greatly indebted to him for his accomplishments. It was he who "by keeping alive the power of the General Assembly of the Church, laid the foundation of constitutional government in Scotland, and the liberties of her people."<sup>22</sup> Added to this ecclesiastical structure, McCrie asserts that

Scotland has been indebted for other blessings of a collateral kind and of the highest importance. To it she owes that system of education which has extended its blessings to the lowest class in the community. To it she owes the intelligence, sobriety, and religious principle which distinguish her commonalty from those of other countries.<sup>23</sup>

Melville could be said to have been one of the greatest educators in Scottish history. He himself excelled all his countrymen of that age in his "acquirements of a various and profound erudition."<sup>24</sup> And it was he that was entrusted with the task of adjusting the curriculum to current requirements at Glasgow and then St. Andrews, of raising the standard of learning, and of equalling the scholarship of the Continental schools.<sup>25</sup> His influence is also seen in the reorganization of the University of Aberdeen, and in the formation of the University of Edinburgh.<sup>26</sup> Through his efforts education and learning came to thrive in Scotland to the extent that

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<sup>22</sup>Campbell, p. 40.

<sup>23</sup>McCrie, II, pp. 333-334.

<sup>24</sup>Ibid., p. 327.

<sup>25</sup>MacLeod, p. 42.

<sup>26</sup>Rait, p. 255 and 259. He is criticized, however, for a fear of philosophy and metaphysics which prevented the production of any philosophers within the Scottish universities of the seventeenth century (Rait, pp. 259-260).

it is said that there is no other who has done more to advance learning in Scotland than he.<sup>27</sup>

It was largely through Melville that the method of Peter Ramus came to dominate the universities of Scotland.<sup>28</sup> While Ramus<sup>29</sup> (1515-1572) had sought to remove the barriers to communication in scholastic logic and rhetoric by criticizing the schoolmen for having falsified Aristotle and by daring to criticize Aristotle himself, he in actual fact introduced a new type of scholasticism which was only a modification of the Aristotelian tradition. This system, which emphasized logic as man's chief instrument for salvation, stressed method, and was used as a form of dichotomizing truths, appears to have played an important role in the development of federal theology<sup>30</sup> in Scotland.<sup>31</sup> And it seems that "up to the seventeenth century philosophy as studied

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<sup>27</sup> Campbell, p. 448.

<sup>28</sup> Rait, pp. 251 ff.

<sup>29</sup> For a full treatment of the logic and rhetoric of Ramus, from a Roman Catholic perspective (S.J.), see Walter J. Ong, *Ramus and Talon Inventory* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1958) and *Ramus, Method and the Decay of Dialogue* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1958). For a more concise summary from the Protestant perspective, see Donald Leonard Faris, "The Nature of Theological Inquiry as Raised by the Conflict of the Teaching of McLeod Campbell and Westminster Theology" (Ph.D. thesis, University of Edinburgh, 1967), pp. 187 ff. and W. Wilson Benton, Jr., "The Ecclesiology of George Hill, 1750-1819" (Ph.D. Thesis, University of Edinburgh, 1969), pp. 81 ff.

<sup>30</sup> Federal theology which came to dominate the theology of Scotland by the middle of the seventeenth century is defined as that movement which "tended to detach the conception of the covenant and make it into an abstract systematic principle." T. F. Torrance, *School*, p. LXIII.

<sup>31</sup> Benton, pp. 81-86.

in the Scottish Universities was a rudimentary version of Aristotelianism, supplemented, perhaps by the logic of Peter Ramus."<sup>32,33</sup>

When Melville was encouraged to produce a written work to display his talents, he declined by pleading that there were already too many writers who courted the public favour and that it was his duty to devote himself to the task of education which he regarded as his primary occupation.<sup>34</sup> Certainly it is regretted that he left so little in writing, especially in view of his vast learning and great influence in the theology of Scotland.<sup>35</sup> He chose to write only occasional pieces for his own amusement and the gratification of a few close friends.<sup>36</sup> Most of his writings consist of Latin poems, which show the vigour of his imagination and the elegance of his style, but have not transmitted his reputation to posterity. This loss can be attributed both to the lack of appreciation for Latin poetry in later times and the fact that Melville did not produce a work of any great extent. McCrie explains:

Melville found always sufficient active employment to excuse him the duty of writing for the public. He was not ambitious of

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<sup>32</sup>Kemp Smith, *The Philosophy of David Hume* (London: Macmillan and Co., 1941), p. 23 (Quoted from Benton, p. 85). For a fuller discussion of the relationship of federal theology and Ramism, see Benton and Faris.

<sup>33</sup>Thus the two great influences on Melville appear to have been the philosophy and philosophic method of Ramus and the theology of Theodore Beza.

<sup>34</sup>McCrie, I, pp. 86-87.

<sup>35</sup>Walker, p. 2.

<sup>36</sup>McCrie, I, p. 87.

literary fame, and was quite superior to mercenary views; nor had the act of converting authorship into an engine for making a fortune been discovered in that age. Another circumstance which has proved injurious to his literary fame is, that a great number of his poems are satires on the hierarchy. This, together with the firm resistance which he made to the episcopal polity, excited a strong antipathy against him among the defenders of the English Church, who have either disparaged his talents or treated his writings with neglect.<sup>37</sup>

He has left us with only one theological treatise, a short commentary on the Epistle to the Romans. His hand is also seen in the second *Book of Discipline* and probably in the brief papers belonging to the contention between the state and Church in 1596.<sup>38</sup> Thus it is certainly true that his reputation does not rest on his writings;<sup>39</sup> his impression was not made as an author but as a teacher and a leader with his personal contacts.<sup>40</sup>

It was Melville's reputation for learning and probity, his knowledge of the subjects in debate, his fiery eloquence, heroic courage, and firmness, which "gave him an ascendancy over the public mind which was in some respects greater than that exerted by any acknowledged leader." Although others were seemingly better qualified for leading the proceedings of the Church courts, "Melville

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<sup>37</sup> Ibid, II, pp. 328-329.

<sup>38</sup> Walker, p. 2.

<sup>39</sup> McCrie, II, p. 331.

<sup>40</sup> Donaldson, *Scottish Reformation*, p. 190.

was regarded by the nation as the master-spirit which animated the whole body and watched over the rights and liberties of the Church."<sup>41</sup> And as a university principal he was in a commanding position to train the young men to defend the Church in Scotland,<sup>42</sup> needed if the Church was to survive the days of struggle.<sup>43</sup>

Melville's reputation rests largely on his labours in rearing and defending the distinctive ecclesiastical polity of the Church of Scotland.<sup>44</sup> He was not only an active leader in ecclesiastical affairs, but also "a prime mover in the steps by which the organization of the Scottish Church was definitely cast in a presbyterian mould."<sup>45</sup> Hence Campbell declares, "It cannot be denied that the Church of Scotland in her forms of government is today very much what Andrew Melville made her."<sup>46</sup> It was his feeling that "prelacy was unscriptural, and should be abolished, and parity in rank and authority be restored among the ministers of the Church"<sup>47</sup> which became the conviction of the Reformed Church in Scotland. His influence is certainly seen in the formation of the

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<sup>41</sup> McCrie, II, pp. 327-328.

<sup>42</sup> Gordon Donaldson, *Scotland: Church and Nation Through Sixteen Centuries* (Edinburgh: Scottish Academic Press, 1972), p. 73 (Hereafter designated as Donaldson, *Scotland*).

<sup>43</sup> Macleod, p. 42.

<sup>44</sup> McCrie, II, p. 331.

<sup>45</sup> Alexander Gordon, "Melville," p. 231.

<sup>46</sup> Campbell, p. 38.

<sup>47</sup> Fleming, p. 292.



second *Book of Discipline* which is largely the polity today of the Church of Scotland.<sup>48</sup> Macleod states that his greatest contribution "was his masterly guidance of the Church in her contendings with secular aggression." Through his efforts there came to be recognized what might be called the distinctively Scottish doctrine of the relationship between Church and State.<sup>49</sup> But McCrie warns that it is a great mistake to assume "that Melville and his associates were engaged merely in resisting the imposition of certain ecclesiastical forms."<sup>50</sup> What was at stake was the issue of civil and religious liberty,<sup>51</sup> which included the very important issue of public worship.<sup>52</sup>

Certain writers accuse Melville of being the "presbyterian missionary to Scotland,"<sup>53</sup> or of being the originator of Scottish presbyterianism."<sup>54</sup> But it seems that it can be argued more plausibly that Melville, while

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<sup>48</sup>Campbell, p. 55. This document separates the civil from the ecclesiastical power as it states, "Jesus Christ has appointed a government in his church, distinct from civil government, which is to be exercised in his name by such office-bearers as he has authorized, and not by civil magistrates or under their direction." See McCrie, I, p. 119.

<sup>49</sup>Macleod, pp. 43-45. Campbell (pp. 37-38) states, "Melville's chief work was to establish between the Church of Scotland and the State such friendly relations as would preserve the independence and validity of each in its own sphere . . . ."

<sup>50</sup>McCrie, II, pp. 334-335.

<sup>51</sup>Fleming, p. 293.

<sup>52</sup>McNeill, p. 305.

<sup>53</sup>Donaldson, *Scottish Reformation*, pp. 190-191.

<sup>54</sup>Donaldson, *Scotland*, p. 171; Campbell, p. 69.

not merely restating Knox, only developed what Knox had begun. Therefore, Gordon insists that "the ultimate shape of Scottish presbyterianism was a native growth."<sup>55</sup>

#### MELVILLE'S THEOLOGICAL POSITION

It is impossible on the basis of the evidence available to construct a comprehensive system of Melville's theology concerning the Mediator. But what can be attempted is the demonstration of fundamental beliefs and certain emphases which emerge in his thought. These are seen in secondary works by his biographers, in his commentary on Romans, and in the second *Book of Discipline*.

In Melville's personal spiritual life, though not much is known, a twofold love appears--God and His Kirk. Melville longs:

O that I may love him, who first loved me, with all my mind, soul, and strength! and that I may bring forth the fruits of this love by promoting the good of his church in these difficult times and amidst all the ingratitude that abounds.<sup>56</sup>

And he states, "I live for God and the Church."<sup>57</sup> Even before the king Melville asserted, "I skorn nocht; bot with all earnestness, zeall, and gravitie, I stand for the cause of Jesus Christ and his Kirk."<sup>58</sup>

The span of courses taught by Melville in the universities seems to have bordered on the phenomenal.<sup>59</sup>

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<sup>55</sup>Alexander Gordon, "Melville," p. 232. See also McCrie, I, pp. 125 and 128-130.

<sup>56</sup>McCrie, II, p. 219.

<sup>57</sup>Ibid., II, p.298.

<sup>58</sup>James Melville, p. 142.

<sup>59</sup>See James Melville (p. 49) for a very detailed and precise listing of these courses.

It is said that Melville "went through the common heads of Divinity according to the order of Calvin's Institutions, and gave lectures on the different books of Scripture."<sup>60</sup> At St. Andrews he gave lectures "on the system of theology." One of his students, who had no particular love for Melville, commented concerning him:

He taught learnedly and perfectly the knowledge and practise of the Hebrew, Chaldee, Syriac, and Rabbinical languages. At the same time, he elucidated with much erudition and accuracy the heads of theology, as laid down in the Institutions of John Calvin and other writings of approved divines, together with the principal books of both Testaments, and the most difficult and abstruse mysteries of revealed religion.<sup>61,62</sup>

In his teaching Melville was greatly influential in training theologians and guiding the theology of his native land.<sup>63</sup> One particular incident, however, is of special note in his career as a teacher. It was in his lectures on the system of theology that he took the occasion, when discussing the Being and Attributes of God, Creation, and Providence, to expose the errors contained in the works of Aristotle--showing that they were contrary to the principles both of natural and revealed religion. The professors of philosophy became so annoyed at one point at the undermining of their champion that they raised a great outcry and caused the

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<sup>60</sup>McCrie, I, p. 69.

<sup>61</sup>Ibid., I, p. 165.

<sup>62</sup>T. C. Smout, *A History of the Scottish People 1560-1830* (2nd ed.; London: Collins, 1970), p. 64 argues that Melville was greatly influenced by Beza and imported his more rigidly academic theology into Scotland.

<sup>63</sup>See James Melville, pp. 124 and 254.

students to become enangered with Melville. McCrie records of his reaction during this controversy:

*Tunc cede malis, sed contra audentor ito*, was Melville's motto, and the principle by which he was guided on all such occasions. Disregarding the ignorant clamour and interested alarm which had been excited, he persisted in the course which he had taken; and, when the subject was introduced in the public meetings of the university at vacations and promotions, he refuted the arguments of his opponents with such readiness, force of reasoning, and overpowering eloquence, as reduced them to silence.<sup>64</sup>

Although we do not know further details of Melville's polemic, he does state, "Praeter Aristotelem unum, in quo quam exiguus fuerit divinitatis sensus,"<sup>65</sup> but, nevertheless, he also states, "Notandus hic locus contra profanam philosophiam Aristotelis de felicitate, et ultimo fine hominis."<sup>66</sup> We also find that Melville harshly criticized the teaching of Arminius, whom he considered to be a bold speculator.<sup>67</sup>

Perhaps the starting point for discussing the specific elements of Melville's theology is his concept of the relationship between Church and State. This may seem like a very unusual place to begin. Yet it is his thought in this area which seems to have conditioned a great deal of his theology, particularly in his concept of the Mediator. It was before King James VI that Melville

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<sup>64</sup>McCrie, I, pp. 169-170.

<sup>65</sup>Andrea Melvino, *Commentarius in Divinam Pauli Epistolam Ad Romanos*, ed. by Guilhelmi Lindsay Alexander (Edinburgi: Sumptibus Societatis Wodrovensis, 1849), commentary on Romans 1:18-19, p. 417 (Hereafter designated as Melville, *Romanos*).

<sup>66</sup>Ibid., (14:4-15) pp. 502-503.

<sup>67</sup>McCrie, II, pp. 201-202 and 304.

showed his true beliefs concerning the relationship between Church and state. He interrupted the king in a zealous, powerful, and irresistible manner, uttered a commission as from God the Almighty, called the king but "God's sillie vassall," took him by the sleeve, and uttered his famous oration:

Sir, we will humblie reverence your Majestie alwayes, namelie in publict, but sen we have this occasioun to be with your Majestie in privat, and the treuthe is, yie ar brought in extream danger bathe of your lyff and croun, and with yow the countrey and Kirk of Christ is lyk to wrak, for nocht telling yow the treuthe, and giffen of yow a fathfull counsall, we mon (=must) discharge our dewtie thairin, or els be trators bathe to Christ and yow! And, thairfor, Sir, as divers tymes befor, sa now again, I mon tell yow, thair is twa Kings and twa Kingdomes in Scotland. Thair is Chryst Jesus the King, and his kingdome the kirk, whase subject King James the Saxt is, and of whase kingdome nocht a king, nor a lord, nor a heid, bot a member! And they whome Chryst hes callit and commandit to watch over his Kirk, and governe his spirituall kingdome, hes sufficient powar of him, and autoritie sa to do, bathe togidder and severalie; the quhilk na Christian King nor Prince sould controll and discharge, but fortifie and assist, utherwayes nocht fathfull subjects nor members of Chryst. . . .<sup>68</sup>

Thus Melville believed in the two kingdoms--the Church and the state--each with its own authority, and in matters of conscience and religion the state was to bow to the Church.<sup>69</sup> The civil power and the ecclesiastical power are distinct, each with its own nature, but they are both of God and tend toward one end, if rightly used--"to advance the glory of God, and to have godlie and gud subjectis."<sup>70</sup> The civil power is called the Power of the Sword and the ecclesiastical power the Power of the Keys.

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<sup>68</sup>James Melville, pp. 370-371.

<sup>69</sup>Smout, p. 65.

<sup>70</sup>The Church of Scotland, *The Second Book of Discipline, or Heids and Conclusions of the Policie of the Kirk*, Vol. III, pp. 529-555 in David Calderwood, *The History of the Kirk of Scotland*, ed. by Thomas Thomson (8 vols.; Edinburgh: Wodrow Society, 1843), Section I, paragraph 4.

While the ministers and members of the Kirk are subject to the civil magistrate, the magistrate is subject to the Kirk in things spiritual and in matters of ecclesiastical government.<sup>71</sup> Melville insisted that whether kings were raised to office by election, succession, or by any other means, they were appointed by God and they were apt to forget this fact.<sup>72</sup> And because their appointment is of God they have no right to interfere with the Church of God when she is trying to do "the will of her Head as He has made it known in His Word."<sup>73</sup>

#### THEOLOGY PROPER

With this teaching concerning the separation of the two kingdoms Melville's theology can be approached from a systematic perspective, beginning with Theology Proper. Melville testifies to a belief in one God existing in three persons--"Deus Pater, et Deus Filius, et Deus Spiritus Sanctus."<sup>74</sup> Melville writes concerning God, "So profusely beneficent has my divine and indulgent Father been towards me as even to exceed my wishes."<sup>75</sup> He speaks of the great "perfectus amor Dei,"<sup>76</sup> whose nature is "sapientissimus, potentissimus ac justissimus." This God is the holy one "cujus justitia tanta, ut nullum

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<sup>71</sup>Ibid. I. 9.

<sup>72</sup>McCrie, I, p. 199.

<sup>73</sup>Macleod, p. 43.

<sup>74</sup>Melville, *Romanos*, (8:18-28) pp. 473-474.

<sup>75</sup>McCrie, II, p. 219.

<sup>76</sup>Melville, *Romanos*, (4:14-25) p. 443.

peccatum relinquat impunitum; cuius denique ἀπροσωποληψία neque generis, neque gentis, neque personae ullius, quae in externis posita est, ullum respectum habet.<sup>77</sup>

God's love toward us is so great that He has delivered up His own Son for our sakes.<sup>78</sup> Even when we were neither good nor righteous--unworthy in every sense before Him<sup>79</sup>--God "ne filio quidem suo pepercit, sed in mortem tradidit illum."<sup>80</sup> It is the Father who sent His Son to expiate sin and condemn sin, culminating in His death on the cross.<sup>81</sup>

Melville often refers to "Deo Patre in Christo filio."<sup>82</sup> It is in Christ that we know the grace of our heavenly Father;<sup>83</sup> thus "Deo sit gratia per Iesum Christum."<sup>84</sup> Also dear to Melville is "amor Dei in Christo erga nos,"<sup>85</sup> and he mentions "sensu illius amoris, quo Deus in Christo est nos ultro prosequutus."<sup>86</sup> He also refers to "immensam Dei gloriam in Christi"<sup>87</sup> and

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<sup>77</sup>Ibid., (1:17) p. 404.

<sup>78</sup>Ibid., (5:1-17) p. 446.

<sup>79</sup>Ibid.

<sup>80</sup>Ibid., (3:2-26) p. 437.

<sup>81</sup>Ibid., (8:2-4) p. 467.

<sup>82</sup>Ibid., ("Argumentum Epistolae") p. 385.

<sup>83</sup>McCrie, II, p. 530.

<sup>84</sup>Melville, *Romanos*, (16:12-27) p. 514.

<sup>85</sup>Ibid., ("Argumentum Epistolae") p. 386.

<sup>86</sup>Ibid., ("Argumentum Epistolae") p. 388.

<sup>87</sup>Ibid., (1:17) p. 400.



ties together the three Persons of the Trinity, but maintains the "in Christo," as he envisions "Deum patrem in Christo per Spiritum sanctificantem praesentia sua Ecclesiam suam collocet."<sup>88</sup>

And it is through Christ that we know the love of the Father. Melville writes that "Deus nunc amore nos in Christo prosequitur,"<sup>89</sup> and concerning Romans 8:28 comments: "Deum in Christo nunquam nos deserturum aut derelicturum, sed perpetuo et constanti nos in Christo amore prosecuturum."<sup>90</sup> It is in and through Christ that we are certain of the Father's love and of the salvation He has provided for us.<sup>91</sup> This salvation is wholly of God and is contained in Christ, for Melville asserts, "Is autem est, gloria Dei in Christo, cujus nos servi sumus beneficio mortis, et resurrectionis ipsius, ut ille noster Dominus, cui serviendum est nobis."<sup>92</sup> It was by the Father and by the Holy Spirit that Christ was raised from the dead,<sup>93</sup> and the benefits of God are bestowed because we are accepted gratuitously in the Son.<sup>94</sup> Thus we can approach the Father through grace because of the merits of Christ who was given by the Father for us.<sup>95</sup>

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<sup>88</sup>Ibid., (1:17) p. 403.

<sup>89</sup>Ibid., (5:1-17) p. 446.

<sup>90</sup>Ibid., (8:28) p. 475.

<sup>91</sup>Ibid., ("Argumentum Epistolae") p. 388.

<sup>92</sup>Ibid., (14:4-15) p. 502.

<sup>93</sup>Ibid., (8:4-11) p. 469.

<sup>94</sup>McCrie, II, p. 219.

<sup>95</sup>Melville, *Romanos*, (3:21-26) p. 435.

It was the decree of God from before the creation of the world to give Christ for us,<sup>96</sup> as part of His plan of predestination or choosing of some to salvation ("quos ex mera gratia proposuit ab aeterno eligere").<sup>97</sup> The secrets of God were hidden from eternity,<sup>98</sup> but now it is added that "ex aeterno Dei decreto et praedestinatione deducit."<sup>99</sup> Not only does God choose some to salvation, but also some are not chosen. In this regard Melville explains:

Itidem ad alterum membrum de reprobatione respondet Scripturae testimonio, atque adeo Dei verbis, quibus se excitasse Pharaonem ait ad gloriam potentiae et justitiae suae illustrandam. Atque inde concludit utrumque membrum; Electionem et reprobationem a Dei voluntate esse, sed ita ut eligat ex misericordia, et in exequendo decreto reprobationis induret, antequam perdat, idque ex justitia.

But he emphasizes that God is righteous in this matter of choosing and reprobating and is in no way unjust.<sup>100</sup> And the preaching of Christ is seen as the revelation of the great mystery unknown previously from eternity.<sup>101</sup>

#### THE PERSON OF CHRIST

Christ is one person with two natures ("Filius Dei, persona una duabus constans naturis"),<sup>102</sup> and "Filius

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<sup>96</sup>Ibid., (3:13-26) p. 434.

<sup>97</sup>Ibid., (9:6-23) p. 479.

<sup>98</sup>Ibid., (1:16) p. 399.

<sup>99</sup>Ibid., (1:7-17) p. 412.

<sup>100</sup>Ibid., (9:6-30) pp. 479-480.

<sup>101</sup>Ibid., (6:12-27) p. 514.

<sup>102</sup>Ibid., (1:7) p. 408.

Dei, cuius persona una ab aeterno genita."<sup>103</sup> Christ is seen as "verum Deum, verumque hominem."<sup>104</sup> And concerning these two natures Melville explains, "Denique his respondent γενομένον κατὰ σάρκᾱ, et ὁρισθέντος κατὰ πνεῦμα i. e. facto quoad humanam naturam, declarato quoad divinam."<sup>105</sup> The divine nature of Christ "neque facta neque genita, sed per aeternam generationem a patre cum filio communicata jam inde ab omni aeternitate, et in plenitudine temporum mundo patefacta et manifestata."<sup>106</sup> Therefore Jesus Christ abides blessed in all eternity with the Father and the Holy Ghost.<sup>107</sup> But Christ is equally man, the Son of Man, born of the virgin Mary; Melville writes that Christ is

humana, secundum quam filius Davidis, ac proinde Abrahami secundum promissionem et est et dicitur Math. i. Luc. iii. in genealogia Christi, ut Gen. xii. et xxii. et passim 2 Samuel vii. 1 Chronic. xvii., hoc est quod dicit factum, anno viz. mundi conditi 3927, (Spiritu Sancto Mariam virginem obumbrante) ex semine Davidis secundum carnem.<sup>108</sup>

Furthermore, he also states that Christ is

humana, Davidicae stirpis virgine orta, anno M. 3927; divina, per se aeterna, verum ἐν πλερώματι καιρῶν, anno 3960, declarata mundo, et manifestata resuscitato in vitam corpore, quod expositum erat in mortem crucis execrabilem, idque virtute sua, qua Spiritus est sanctimoniae omnis autor in angelis et hominibus, atque adeo ipsa sanctitas, naturam assumptam non solum in articulo conceptus purissime sanctificans, sed etiam vita post mortem rediviva plenissime glorificans.<sup>109</sup>

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<sup>103</sup> Ibid., (1:15) p. 395.

<sup>104</sup> Ibid., (4:14-25) p. 443.

<sup>105</sup> Ibid., (1:1-7) pp. 408-409.

<sup>106</sup> Ibid., (1:1-7) p. 408.

<sup>107</sup> *Second Book of Discipline*, XIII. 4.

<sup>108</sup> Melville, *Romanos*, (1:1-7) p. 408.

<sup>109</sup> Ibid., (1:15) p. 395.

Though Christ was divine from all eternity, he was "in carne exinanitio" of his divinity as He assumed our nature.<sup>110</sup>

The Incarnation of Christ is seen by Melville in connection with the whole scheme of salvation; he writes of Christ, "Ut ipse esset primogenitus inter multos fratres; haec est Christi praerogativa, ut primogeniti Filiorum Dei, ὃς ἔστιν ἀρχή, πρωτότοκος ἐκ τῶν νεκρῶν. . . ."<sup>111</sup> Christ has been predestinated of the Father "pacificatorem et propitiatorem."<sup>112</sup>

#### THE OFFICES OF CHRIST

This Christ, "Filius Dei, Deus et homo, idoneus nobis Servator," is seen to occupy a three-fold office as He is "unctus Propheta, Sacerdos, Rex et Dominus noster."<sup>113</sup> In His priestly office Christ is considered "nostrum pontificem ὁσίον, ἄκακον, ἀμίαντον εἶναι." Not only is He the Priest who performs the sacrifice, but He is the victim itself. Melville declares:

Haec igitur erant necessaria ad personam idoneam constituendam, quae sacerdotium susciperet, et suscepto fungeretur, et victimam idoneam, quae pro peccatis electorum Deo Patri offerretur; et quemadmodum Deum ab aeterno et hominem κατὰ καιρὸν perfectae aetatis, καὶ τέλειον, ita sanctum etiam et justum ante esse oportuit, quam sacrificium offerret, aut sacerdotio fungeretur.<sup>114</sup>

Melville's emphasis on the priesthood is clearly on the once-for-all character of His sacrifice with little mention

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<sup>110</sup>Ibid., (4:14-25) p. 443.

<sup>111</sup>Ibid., (8:18-39) p. 474. (Greek changed to match N.T.)

<sup>112</sup>Ibid., (3:21-26) pp. 436-437.

<sup>113</sup>Ibid., (1:15) p. 395.

<sup>114</sup>Ibid., (4:14-25) p. 443.

being given to His continuing priesthood before the Father for men.

Melville speaks of Christ as being the King of kings<sup>115</sup> who rules in the midst of His enemies.<sup>116</sup> But his emphasis is not on Christ's dominion over all things and all men, but on His reign over the Church. It is stated that "it is Christ's proper office to command and rewill his kirk universall and every particular kirk, throw his Spirit and Word, be the ministrie of men." And only Christ is to be called Lord and Master of the Kirk,<sup>117</sup> for

it is a title falslie usurpit by Antichrist to call himselve Heid of the kirk, and aucht not to be attribute to angel nor man, of what estait that ever he be, saving to Christ, the onlie Heid and monarch of the kirk.<sup>118</sup>

Thus the Church is always under "one heid and chiefe governour, Jesus Christ,"<sup>119</sup> who "is the onlie King, Hie Priest, and Heid thereof; yit he useis the ministry of men, as ane most necessar middis for this purpose."<sup>120</sup>

Melville's teaching on the kingdom of Christ--the Church--is directly related to his teaching on the two swords--the civil and the ecclesiastical. This division of the two powers prepares the way for his teaching concerning

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<sup>115</sup>James Melville, p. 542.

<sup>116</sup>McCrie, II, p. 205.

<sup>117</sup>*Second Book of Discipline*, I. 8.

<sup>118</sup>*Ibid.*, I. 6.

<sup>119</sup>*Ibid.*, II. 1.

<sup>120</sup>*Ibid.*, II. 3.

Christ's kingdom which is almost totally restricted to the Church. Hence in Melville's theology there is a direct interconnection between Christology, Ecclesiology, and Soteriology.

As the Prophet, Priest, and King Christ is the one Mediator between God and man. Melville observes, "Dominus noster, quae tres appellationes includunt utramque naturam in una eademque persona, et officium mediatoris servatoris prophetico, sacerdotali, et regio munere designant."<sup>121</sup> Christ the Mediator is the proper priest and the suitable victim, cleansing those who are in Him.<sup>122</sup> The emphasis on the Mediator certainly concerns His once-for-all work of mediation in behalf of His Church. Melville asks that the true Mediator be praised that the Church may be benefited.<sup>123</sup> It is the Mediator who grants authority to the Church;<sup>124</sup> Melville states:

For this power ecclesiastical flowes immediatlly from God, and the Mediator Jesus Christ, and is spirituall, not having a temporall heid on earth, bot onlie Christ the onlie spirituall King and Governour of his Kirk.<sup>125</sup>

There is little attention given to the continuing mediatorial work of Christ or to the fact that He stands as the universal Prophet, Priest, and King--the one Mediator for all mankind.

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<sup>121</sup>Melville, *Romanos*, (1:1-7) p. 408.

<sup>122</sup>Ibid., (4:14-25) p. 443.

<sup>123</sup>McCrie, II, p. 530.

<sup>124</sup>*Second Book of Discipline*, I. 2.

<sup>125</sup>Ibid., I. 5.

THE SINFUL CONDITION OF MAN

In his commentary on Romans Melville certainly stresses the corruption of mankind brought about by sin. He writes that "primum permetteret hominem labi in peccatum et mortem,"<sup>126</sup> which is called original sin.<sup>127</sup> And not only did Adam sin, but his sin "transfudit in omnes ejus posterios."<sup>128</sup> We are affected by the unrighteousness of Adam;<sup>129</sup> Melville insists that

quod primum fuit primi hominis peccatum, cujus nos omnes in ipso rei sumus; pars altera, corruptio naturalis et peccandi proclivitas, quae cum Adamo omnes posterios peccato mancipavit. Ab Adamo igitur injustitia et mors facta est humano generi gentilitio jure haereditaria, adeo ut per naturam non possit non peccare.<sup>130</sup>

Furthermore, he explains that

Duo igitur sunt, peccatum et mors, quibus duo attribuuntur, nimirum ingressus et privatio, Graece melius εἰσῆλθαι, καὶ διήλθῃ, sicut peccatum et mors ingressa sunt humanum genus per primum hominem, sic pervaserunt omnes homines, ut jam inde a lapsu fuerint peccatores et mortales, et mortales quia peccatores, et peccatores propterea quod in primo homine peccarint, vel saltem propter primi hominis peccatum cum ipso et rei sint, et peccato infecti, ut non possint amplius non peccare.<sup>131</sup>

Man cannot live in himself because of his sinful condition;<sup>132</sup> "ergo omnes homines extra Evangelium coram Deo sunt condemnationi obnoxii, ut qui sint καὶ ἀναπολόγητοι καὶ αὐτοκατάκριτοι."<sup>133</sup>

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<sup>126</sup>Melville, *Romanos*, (5:3-17) p. 447.

<sup>127</sup>Ibid., (5:3-19) p. 448.

<sup>128</sup>Ibid., (5:3-17) p. 447.

<sup>129</sup>Ibid., ("Argumentum Epistolae") pp. 386-387.

<sup>130</sup>Ibid., (5:3-19) p. 448.

<sup>131</sup>Ibid., (5:3-17) p. 447.

<sup>132</sup>Ibid., (6:1-6) p. 454.

<sup>133</sup>Ibid., (1:17) p. 405.



All unrighteousness comes under the condemnation of God,<sup>134</sup> for "iram Dei revelari in omnem impietatem et injustitiam hominum." Melville describes man before God in very uncompromising terms as he explains:

Hominum in se injustitiam tragice exprimit Apostolus dum eam vocat omnem impietatem et injustitiam hominum, q. d. omnes homines in se nihil aliud esse, quam omnem iniustitiam et impietatem, quam exaggerat ira Dei e coelo patefacta, quae magis magisque hanc hominum impietatem, et injustitiam divina vindicta accumulatur et coacervat, dum peccata peccatis, et scelera novis sceleribus justo iudicio justissimus iudex ulciscitur.<sup>135</sup>

#### THE WORK OF CHRIST

Melville teaches that God sent His Son "in carne simillima nostrae carni peccatrici, i. e. natura humana induto." He was a victim, condemned and "abolevit, τὴν ἀμαρτίαν, ipsum peccans peccatum, adeoque peccati scaturiginem in hac carne, in corrupta natura nostra."<sup>136</sup> The expression in Romans 8:3 ἐν τῇ σαρκὶ "ad carnem Christi referri debeat, quod in ipsius carne damnatum fuerit peccatum non inhaerens; expers enim erat omnis peccati, sed ex imputatione illi impositum, quod nostrum onus in se sustulit."<sup>137</sup> It is true that "nostrae in Christo naturae sanctificatio expiat sordes in natura reliquas"<sup>138</sup> because He partook of our humanity to cleanse and sanctify us.

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<sup>134</sup> Ibid.

<sup>135</sup> Ibid., (1:17-19) p. 416.

<sup>136</sup> Ibid., (8:2-4) p. 467.

<sup>137</sup> Ibid., (8:3) p. 468.

<sup>138</sup> Ibid., (4:1-25) pp. 442-443.

Not only is our nature cleansed in Christ, but also His obedience replaces our disobedience to the Law of God. In fact, "legis finis Christus ad justitiam cuivis credenti."<sup>139</sup> It is the obedience of Christ which works "ad supplendum legalis obedientiae defectum in nobis," since "hic defectus, quam illae sordes, non secus atque alia peccata Christi sanguine abluuntur."<sup>140</sup> It seems that it is the obedience of Christ unto death that receives the greater stress in Melville's thought, with the perfect life of Christ taking a secondary place.

The obedience of Christ, especially unto death, is seen also in the very extended contrast between Adam and Christ elucidated by Melville. "Adam Christi typus fuit," with both similarities and dissimilarities existing between them. Melville lists the ways in which Adam and Christ correspond:

ADAM	CHRIST
Παρακοή (disobedience)	Ὑπακοή (obedience)
Παράπτωμα (transgression)	Χάρισμα (gift)
Ἄμαρτία (sin)	Δικαιοσύνη et Χάρις διὰ δικαιοσύνην (righteousness and grace through r.)
Κρῖμα (judgment)	Δῶρημα (gift)
Κατάκριμα (punishment)	Δικαίωμα (requirement, commandment)
Κατάκρισις θανάτου (condemnation of death)	Δικαιώσις ζωῆς (justification of life)
Θάνατος (death)	Ζωή (life).

He explains:

Πηγὴ καὶ ῥίζα, fons et radix mortis et vitae est Adami παρακοή, unde ejus τὸ παράπτωμα, unde ejus ἡ ἄμαρτία, unde est τὸ κρῖμα, quod secum affert κατάκριμα, et hoc κατάκρισιν θανάτου, unde mors aeterna sequitur. E regione respondet Christi ἡ ὑπακοή, τὸ χάρισμα, ἡ δικαιοσύνη, τὸ δῶρημα, τὸ δικαίωμα, quae omnia quinque pro eodem sumi (quamquam diversa ratione) videntur: at-

<sup>139</sup> Ibid., (10:1-17) p. 481.

<sup>140</sup> Ibid., (4:14-25) p. 443.

que una et eadem Christi obedientia vocari etiam ἡ χάρις τοῦ  
 θεοῦ, καὶ ἡ δωρεὰ ἐν τῇ χάριτι τῇ τοῦ ἐνδὸς ἀνθρώπου  
 Ἰησοῦ χριστοῦ, καὶ ἡ περιουσία τῆς χάριτος καὶ τῆς  
 δωρεᾶς καὶ τῆς δικαιοσύνης.<sup>141</sup>

Whereas by one man there was the transgression  
 resulting in the voluntary fall and ruin of the first man,  
 by the other is the entrance of the free gift of God. In  
 Adam is the "regnum mortis" but in Christ "regno vitae."  
 Therefore just as by one offense condemnation and guilt  
 fell upon all men, "sic per unum δικαίωμα justificamen  
 subiit δώρημα in omnes homines ad mustificationem vitae."  
 Melville insists "ut inobedientia unius Adami constituit  
 multos peccatores, sic etiam obedientia unius Christi  
 justi constituentur multi."<sup>142</sup> There is guilt and death  
 in Adam but life in Christ, death because of Adam's dis-  
 obedience and life because of Christ's obedience.<sup>143</sup>

Melville repeatedly asserts that all are guilty  
 in Adam, but those in Christ are delivered from the  
 guilt and cleansed before God. He comments:

Similitudo autem haec omnia conjungit, sicut ex Adami offensa  
 contractus reatus omnes addicit morti, ita absolutio ab offensis  
 omnibus ex justitia Christi imputata justificat omnes credentes  
 ad vitam aeternam obtinendam, v. 18. Cujus similitudinis quasi  
 fundamentum altera similitudine illustratur, nimirum: Sicut  
 inobedientia Adami omnes constituit peccatores, sic obedientia  
 Christi electos omnes constituit justos.

Therefore, the causes of life and death are compared--"ut  
 omnes in Christo ex gratia Dei mirum quantum efficaciores  
 ad vitam sint, quam in Adamo ex natura ad mortem sempiter-  
 nam."<sup>144</sup>

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<sup>141</sup>Ibid., (5:3-19) pp. 448-449.

<sup>142</sup>Ibid., (5:15-21) pp. 450-452.

<sup>143</sup>Ibid., (5:15-21) pp. 452-453.

<sup>144</sup>Ibid.

It is Christ who is "justis constituendis, quam Adami inobedientia sit nobis perdendis, ac proinde injustis constituendis."<sup>145</sup> In Him is "verum haec redundantia sive exhuberantia gratuiti doni justitiae," which is "donum per gratiam unius hominis Iesu Christi." Melville adds:

Comparavit autem inter se imparium contentione, primo injustitiam sive παράπτωμα Adami, cum justitia sive obedientia Christi, et docet vim et meritum hujus illius vi et merito majus esse, et efficacius, v. 15 (chapter 5); secundo comparat κρῖμα iudicium sive reatum Adami cum justitia Christi, quatenus nobis imputata nos reddit insontes sub nomine δωρήματος et χαρίσματος promiscue, docetque plus in hoc esse virium ad nos absolvendos, quam in illo reatu ad nos damnandos, quod reatus sit unius offensae, absolutio vero sit a multis multarum offensarum reatibus, v. 16.<sup>146</sup>

From all eternity Christ purposed to give Himself as a propitiatory sacrifice (ἱλαστήριον καὶ ἱλασμόν), a peace-offering for our sakes.<sup>147</sup> We ourselves, however, "neque justi neque boni fuimus, cum Christus pro nobis vitam effunderet."<sup>148</sup> Nevertheless, God holds before us

Filium hominem factum, et victimam pro peccato, i. e. sacrificium expiatorium, in cujus damnatione, crucifixione, morte sepultura condemnaretur, con-crucifigeretur, contrucidaretur, et con-sepeli-retur vis illa peccati vitiosa, atque peccatrix in carne nostra.<sup>149</sup>

Christ gave Himself for us, offering Himself through the eternal Spirit to obtain eternal redemption for us.<sup>150</sup>

The death of Christ was "acerbissima et ignom-

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<sup>145</sup> Ibid., (5:15-19) p. 450.

<sup>146</sup> Ibid., (5:15-21) p. 452.

<sup>147</sup> Ibid., (3:21-26) p. 437.

<sup>148</sup> Ibid., (5:1-17) p. 446.

<sup>149</sup> Ibid., (8:2-4) p. 467.

<sup>150</sup> Ibid., (3:21-26) p. 435.

iniosissima" as He was crucified, dead, and buried--a curse before God and man. But Christ did not remain in the grave; He was raised and "redivivus non amplius moritur, sed vivit Deo."<sup>151</sup> Our salvation rests entirely on the complete and finished work of Christ, and therefore it can be asked, "Quis condemnabit nos, pro quibus absolvendis a peccato mortuus est Christus, et justificandis a morte excitatus est, et glorificandis ad Dei dexteram sedet, et defendendis interpellat."<sup>152</sup> The one death of Christ, true God and true man, who was perfect in righteousness and holiness, is sufficient to purge us from our sins, cleanse us, and justify us--"i. e. plene absolvimur, acsi nunquam peccassemus."<sup>153</sup> Melville is even more explicit in this regard when he writes:

Ut morte Christi peccatum expiatur; ita etiam extinguatur impetrato Spiritu regenerante; quare cum justificatione fidei cohaeret sanctificationis beneficium, tantum abest, ut gratuita justitiae doctrina bonis moribus adversetur, quemadmodum adversarii obstrepere consueverunt.<sup>154</sup>

Thus Jesus the Lord has died to sin and "resurrexisse ad justitiam nobis conferendam, et salutem."<sup>155</sup> And because of His completed work we have our redemption through Him,<sup>156</sup> "qui traditus fuit propter peccata nostra, et excitatus est propter justificationem nostram."<sup>157</sup>

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<sup>151</sup> Ibid., (4:14-25) p. 444 and (3:21-26) pp. 435-436.

<sup>152</sup> Ibid., (8:28-39) p. 475.

<sup>153</sup> Ibid., (4:14-25) pp. 443-444.

<sup>154</sup> Ibid., (6:1-6) p. 453.

<sup>155</sup> Ibid., (10:1-17) p. 482.

<sup>156</sup> Ibid., (3:21-26) pp. 436-437.

<sup>157</sup> Ibid., (4:14-25) p. 444.

It is Christ who is our peace-offering, a victim whose blood was shed for us<sup>158</sup> and who as the Author and Finisher of our faith has trodden before us paving and consecrating a new path by His sacrifice.<sup>159</sup>

The merit of the death of Christ works for us "ad expianda peccata, et nos justificandos."<sup>160</sup> as well as our sanctification.<sup>161</sup> Through the shared life of Christ "colligit quanto magis nunc justificatos, et reconciliatos servaturus sit."<sup>162</sup> And in Christ's obedience there is περισσεΐα τῆς χάριτος καὶ τῆς δωρεᾶς τῆς δικαιοσύνης." His work also gives us the certainty of justification "et electionis testimonium, atque adeo vitae aeternae."<sup>163</sup> Melville stresses the sanctification which is ours through Christ. He observes:

Cum hac justitia, salutis causa cohaeret altera justitia salutis pignus, quia justificationis testimonium; quippe sanctificatio promanans a morte et resurrectione Christi, qua cum Christo coalescentes in morte et vita illi conformes reddimur morte peccati, et vita justitiae.<sup>164</sup>

By the law of the Spirit of life in Christ Jesus we are liberated, restored, and given a new life after the Spirit.<sup>165</sup> But our new life is in and through

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<sup>158</sup> Ibid., (3:21-26) p. 435.

<sup>159</sup> McCrie, II, pp. 221-222.

<sup>160</sup> Melville, *Romanos*, (4:14-25) p. 444.

<sup>161</sup> Ibid., (1:1-7) p. 409.

<sup>162</sup> Ibid., (5:1-17) p. 446.

<sup>163</sup> Ibid., (5:15-19) p. 450.

<sup>164</sup> Ibid., ("Argumentum Epistolae") p. 387.

<sup>165</sup> Ibid., (8:1-4) p. 466.

the saving life of the Son of God.<sup>166</sup> Therefore, we are sanctified, sons of God and are given the Spirit of adoption through whom we cry "Abba Pater."<sup>167</sup>

In Melville's soteriology one important question which is raised is whether the work of Christ is universal in scope or is intended only for a select group. At one point he does state "sic per unum δίκαιωμα justificamen subiit δώρημα in omnes homines ad justificationem vitae."<sup>168</sup> Yet he usually restricts the application of the work of Christ by saying that Christ is given as the "victimam idoneam, quae pro peccatis electorum Deo Patri offerretur."<sup>169</sup> The righteousness and life is designed "per Christum cum electis communicandae."<sup>170</sup> And Melville remarks:

Et cum inter aeternum Dei propositum et consilii executionem miseria hominum ex ipsorum culpa, et Dei misericordia justificandis et sanctificandis in Christo electis interveniat, antequam servantur: non potest Deus videre injustus in iis servandis.<sup>171</sup>

At other times Melville speaks of Christ's work as affecting all who believe, *e. g.*: "Sed etiam gratis in Christo propter ejus meritum justificet omnes, qui fide obedientiam Christi in justitiam apprehendunt."<sup>172</sup> Hence Melville tends to restrict the scope of Christ's appointment

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<sup>166</sup> Ibid., (5:1-2) p. 445.

<sup>167</sup> Ibid., (8:12-17) p. 471.

<sup>168</sup> Ibid., (5:15-19) p. 451.

<sup>169</sup> Ibid., (4:14-25) p. 443.

<sup>170</sup> Ibid., (5:3-19) p. 448.

<sup>171</sup> Ibid., (9:6-23) p. 479.

<sup>172</sup> Ibid., (3:21-26) pp. 435-436.



and work as the Mediator to either the elect or those who believe in Christ. This limitation of Christ's work is certainly consistent with his teaching on the two kingdoms with Christ being the King and Governor of the Church. Nowhere in Melville do we find him teaching that Christ is a brother toward all of humanity, assuming a universal human nature, a fraternity of flesh, as the foundation for His atoning life and death. Rather, Christ is pictured as the King, Saviour, and Mediator only for the one Kingdom, the Church, which is composed of those chosen of God who believe in Christ.

#### SALVATION

Melville consistently teaches that salvation is from first to last the work of Christ. For "cum Deus non solum nos in Christo elegerit, sed etiam justificarit."<sup>173</sup> Furthermore, he declares:

Nam ex ἀγάπης τοῦ Θεοῦ immenso illo Dei amore in Christo per Evangelium vocamur ad sanctitatem, quae est divinae gratiae in nobis effectum, et imputatae gratis obedientiae Christi in justitiam testimonium, nec minus electionis argumentum, quam aeternae vitae pignus.<sup>174</sup>

Because eternal salvation is "causa virtus omnis,"<sup>175</sup> no man can boast of his own virtue or righteousness, but all glory must be given to God.<sup>176</sup> Therefore it is stated, "Qui gloriatur, in Domino gloriatur."<sup>177</sup>

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<sup>173</sup> Ibid., (8:28-39) p. 475.

<sup>174</sup> Ibid., (1:1-16) p. 410.

<sup>175</sup> Ibid., (1:16) p. 399.

<sup>176</sup> Ibid., (3:21-31) p. 438.

<sup>177</sup> Ibid., (5:1-17) pp. 446-447.

Salvation must be entirely the work of God because "nullus homo ex ullius legis operibus justificatur coram Deo."<sup>178</sup> As an example of salvation being purely out of the gracious working of God is the testimony of the great patriarch of faith; Melville insists, "Abraham ex operibus justificatus non fuit. Interrogatio enim negat hoc loco: Abrahamum vero patrem vocat non tam naturae respectu, quam gratiae."<sup>179</sup>

God's salvation is embodied in His Son Jesus Christ; He is given to be "salutem et justitiam nostram."<sup>180</sup> Christ is our ἀντίλυτρον, ἰλαστήριον, and pacificatorem.<sup>181, 182</sup> And because Christ is our salvation, there is no other way, means, or person to God the Father except Christ. Scripture teaches plainly that

Omnino est gratuita in Christo salus, ad quam probandam tam justificationis, quam sanctificationis doctrina omnis affertur: Est enim Evangelium λόγος σωτηρίας, et Christus in Evangelio σωτήρ, nec est aliud sub caelo nomen salutare. . . .<sup>183</sup>

Certainly in Christ is the fulness of salvation--justification, reconciliation, sanctification, and eternal life.<sup>184</sup> Therefore when He is rejected--as He is by Judaism--all His benefits are rejected with Him, leaving

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<sup>178</sup>Ibid., (3:13-20) p. 433.

<sup>179</sup>Ibid., (4:1-13) p. 441.

<sup>180</sup>Ibid., (10:1-17) pp. 482-483.

<sup>181</sup>Ibid., (3:21-26) p. 435.

<sup>182</sup>Ibid., (4:14-25) p. 443.

<sup>183</sup>Ibid., (1:16) p. 399.

<sup>184</sup>Ibid., ("Argumentum Epistolae") p. 386.

those rejecting Him without hope.<sup>185</sup>

The Holy Spirit "datus est nobis a Patre in Christo,"<sup>186</sup> and it is this Spirit who raised Christ from the dead, "quin et idem Spiritus nos sanctificans, est adoptionis Spiritus obsignans in cordibus nostris affectum Dei erga nos paternum, nostramque adoptionem."<sup>187</sup> The Spirit works in us the communion with the death and resurrection of Christ in which we share His death to sin and resurrection to righteousness.<sup>188</sup> Furthermore, concerning the activity of the Holy Spirit Melville states:

Unde enim illa gloriatio nisi ab efficacia Spiritus Christi persuadentis nobis amorem Dei in Christo, qui morte et sanguine Filii nos, cum peccatores essemus, justificatos; et cum hostes essemus, reconciliatos, est in vita servaturus per vitam Filii sui.<sup>189</sup>

Because our salvation is embodied in Christ and the Holy Spirit applies His work to our hearts, Melville can speak of the certainty of salvation, which follows the righteousness of faith,<sup>190</sup> and the certainty of the kingdom of Christ.<sup>191</sup> For the believer there is the "salutis spes certa,"<sup>192</sup> because in Christ we are made

<sup>185</sup> Ibid., (10:8-18) p. 484.

<sup>186</sup> Ibid., (5:1-17) p. 446.

<sup>187</sup> Ibid., ("Argumentum Epistolae") pp. 387-388.

<sup>188</sup> Ibid., ("Argumentum Epistolae") pp. 386-387.

<sup>189</sup> Ibid., (5:1-2) p. 445.

<sup>190</sup> Ibid.

<sup>191</sup> *Second Book of Discipline*, XIII. 4.

<sup>192</sup> Melville, *Romanos*, ("Argumentum Epistolae") p. 386.

"haeredes Dei, et Christi cohaeredes." Melville explains that since "Christum nobis patronum esse, ergo salus nostra certissima est."<sup>193</sup> Assurance is of the very essence of salvation because salvation is wholly the work of God and is entirely embodied in Christ.<sup>194</sup>

An essential part of the Spirit's working is the filial adoption to sonship given those in Christ. Melville observes:

Spiritus adoptionis dicitur Spiritus ille Dei, qui nobis datus est a Patre in Christo ad Dei adversum nos amorem, cum paterno affectu testificandum, nostramque adoptionem obsignandam in cordibus nostris, ut intrepide et cum fiducia Deum Patrem invocemus.

He adds, "'Quod si filii haeredes:' sententia proposita: Omnes filii Dei sunt haeredes Dei, et cohaeredes Christi, ac vitae proinde et gloriae aeternae haeredes ut subjungit."<sup>195</sup> It is through the adoption to sonship that "aeterna salus et gloria certissima magnificentissime concluditur."<sup>196</sup> And it is in Christ, through the working of the Spirit, that we are made to know the Fatherly love of God as we see His Fatherly rod inflicting punishment upon His Son rather than upon us whom He has now adopted as His own children.<sup>197</sup>

Those in Christ, made sons of God, are justified in Him. Justification--a forensic term<sup>198</sup>-- is particularly

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<sup>193</sup> Ibid., ("Argumentum Epistolae") p. 388.

<sup>194</sup> Ibid., (1:1-16) p. 410.

<sup>195</sup> Ibid., (8:12-17) p. 471.

<sup>196</sup> Ibid., (1:7-16) p. 412.

<sup>197</sup> Ibid., (5:1-17) pp. 445-446.

<sup>198</sup> Ibid., (3:13-20) p. 433.

associated with the resurrection of Christ; for "excitato a morte ad justificationem nostri."<sup>199</sup> Although justification comes by faith,<sup>200</sup> we are justified because of the work of Christ, not because of our faith. Melville explains that "non est ipsa per se fides seorsim in se considerata, cujus dignitate et merito justificamur, sed Christus, Christique perfecta ad mortem usque crucis obedientia, quam fides justificans apprehendit."<sup>201</sup> We are justified, therefore, by the efficacious obedience of Christ, and it is in Him that the grace of God abounds freely by the power of justification.<sup>202</sup>

Those justified in Christ are "liberatos a lege peccati et morte."<sup>203</sup> Their sins are not imputed to them; rather it is those in Christ "cui haec omnia condonantur, cur non habeatur pro sancto et justo, ut cui non imputetur sua vel impuritas, vel injustitia: habetur enim eo loco, quo haberetur si sanctus legem praestitisset."<sup>204</sup> The debt of sin is paid and there is full remission in the death of Christ from all sins, original and actual, sins of omission and commission, and all the vulgarities, transgressions, and iniquities of which we have been guilty. Melville explains:

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<sup>199</sup> Ibid., (1:1-7) p. 409.

<sup>200</sup> Ibid., ("Argumentum Epistolae") p. 386.

<sup>201</sup> Ibid., (3:27-31) p. 439.

<sup>202</sup> Ibid., (5:15-19) pp. 449-450.

<sup>203</sup> Ibid., ("Argumentum Epistolae") pp. 386-387.

<sup>204</sup> Ibid., (4:14-25) p. 443.

Et vero non solum quae omissionis et commissionis peccata dicuntur, quae vulgo actualia peccata appellantur, sed etiam labes illa haereditaria, cujus reliquiae haerent in sanctis, quae et ipsae in peccati rationem veniunt, nec alia ratione quam unico mortis Christi sacrificio purgantur, et, ne in rationem coram Deo veniant, expiantur: Neque enim conceptus Christi, et nostrae in Christo naturae sanctificatio expiat sordes in natura nostra reliquas, neque per omnem vitam obedientia Christi perfecta, qua plene legem praestitit, defectum legalis obedientia supplevit in nobis; verum uterque hic indignitatis nostrae morbus non alio remedio, quam Christi morte curatur, non secus atque cetera peccata omnia, quae admittimus et patramus.<sup>205</sup>

In place of sin and wickedness, for those in Christ, is the righteousness of God, which "ex fide est gratuitum Dei in Christo beneficium in nos collatum Evangelii praedicatione." This righteousness of God issues from the Person and Work of Christ; Melville explains:

Justitiam veram, quippe Dei, et ex fide; justitiam Dei, quia donum Dei est gratuitum, et Filii Dei, qui verus Deus est in humana natura ad mortem usque crucis, obedientia perfecta, ac proinde Deo omnibus modis grata atque accepta.<sup>206</sup>

The righteousness of God is joined with the greatest mercy of God as He justifies freely out of His sheer grace those believing in Christ.<sup>207</sup> Thus "justitia salutaris qua nos coram Deo justificamur, nos est humana, sed divina, non legalis, sed Evangelica."<sup>208</sup> This righteousness of God, which was rejected the the Jews,<sup>209</sup> is put first by Melville in the list of the benefits of salvation; he explains:

Non tam igitur justitiam fidei hoc cap. (5) explicat ab effectis, quam ex justitia fidei deducit reconciliationem cum Deo, persever-

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<sup>205</sup> Ibid., (4:1-25) pp. 442-443.

<sup>206</sup> Ibid., (1:16-17) pp. 414-415.

<sup>207</sup> Ibid., (3:21-31) pp. 437-438.

<sup>208</sup> Ibid., (3:21-26) p. 436.

<sup>209</sup> Ibid., (10:1-7) p. 481.

antiae donum, spem salutis, consolationem in adversis, et certitudinem aeternae vitae et gloriae, quae sunt effecta Spiritus Sancti in Christo, ex gratia Dei Patris, justificationem fidei naturae ordine consequentia.<sup>210</sup>

The righteousness of God and the free salvation in Christ is communicated through the Gospel.<sup>211</sup> Christ is Himself the subject of the Gospel, for in it "Dei Filius verus homo verusque Deus, Evangelii subjectum describitur."<sup>212</sup> And the efficacy of this Gospel with the righteousness and salvation to which it testifies results from the exhibition of Christ in the flesh.<sup>213</sup> Thus the Gospel is "the power of God unto salvation" because it testifies of the divine Son of God who was made man to accomplish the work of reconciliation and salvation.

It is by the preaching of the Gospel that faith is engendered. Melville comments:

Et ita quidem ut fide ingenerata praedicatione Evangelii corde credamus Christum pro nobis mortuum esse et resurrexisse ad nos justificandos, et ore profiteamur Iesum esse Dominum, (est enim ellipsis verbi substantivi inter Iesus et Dominum subaudiendi) et dictis et factis Christum experimamus ad salutem consequendam.<sup>214</sup>

The divine righteousness, the cause of eternal life, comes "ex fide," which is the instrument for apprehending Christ.<sup>215</sup> Without faith it is impossible to apprehend Christ for He said to one person, "Fides tua te servavit."<sup>216</sup>

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<sup>210</sup> Ibid., (5:1-17) pp. 445-446.

<sup>211</sup> Ibid., ("Argumentum Epistolae") pp. 388-389.

<sup>212</sup> Ibid., (1:1-7) pp. 408-409.

<sup>213</sup> Ibid., (1:16-17) pp. 413-414.

<sup>214</sup> Ibid., (10:1-17) p. 482.

<sup>215</sup> Ibid., (1:16-17) pp. 414-415.

<sup>216</sup> Ibid., (1:16-17) pp. 413-414.



And concerning this faith it is affirmed that "verum ut unus est Spiritus Sanctus unus Dominus, unus Deus, ita est una fides, quae unum Christum Dominum nobis applicat in justitiam."<sup>217</sup> Melville also makes it clear how he defines faith as he elucidates, "Fides Iesu dicitur non qua credit, aut quam habet Christus, sed qua creditur et quae habetur Christo, v. 27" (Chapter 3).<sup>218</sup> Thus the proper object of faith is not God, or the Word of God in general, but God and the promises of God in Christ.<sup>219</sup>

In Melville's teaching concerning salvation there is a strong stress on sanctification. Commenting on Romans 8:12-17 he writes:

Alterum igitur argumentum, (sed videtur potius redire ad probandam salutis certitudinem, ut in arg. Ep. supra habetur,) est a praemio vitae aeternae, cujus spe ad sanctitatem incitatur, atque ita argumentatur: Omnes filii Dei vitam aeternam consequuntur, qui sanctitati student, vel quod idem est, qui Spiritu Dei aguntur, sunt filii Dei; Ergo omnes qui sanctitati student, vitam adipiscuntur aeternam.<sup>220</sup>

But the cause of sanctification is not in man himself, but

Causa enim sanctificationis est nostra cum Christo unio, quam hic expressit verbis τοῦς ἐν Χριστῷ (sub. οἷσι) qui sunt in Christo, quod complantati cum eo coaluerint conformatione mortis et resurrectionis ipsius.<sup>221</sup>

Hence it is this Mediator, the priest and victim, "cujus per aeternum Spiritum oblatione sanctificaret in perpetuum credentes, et perficeret qui sanctificantur."<sup>222</sup> This

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<sup>217</sup> Ibid., (3:27-31) p. 440.

<sup>218</sup> Ibid., (3:21-31) p. 438.

<sup>219</sup> Ibid., (3:13-26) p. 434.

<sup>220</sup> Ibid., (8:12-17) pp. 470-471.

<sup>221</sup> Ibid., (8:1-4) p. 466.

<sup>222</sup> Ibid., (4:14-24) p. 443.

work of sanctifying will be consummated in the believer's glorification,<sup>223</sup> when he will be "perfecta vero in glorificatis futura."<sup>224</sup>

The believer's relationship with the Person and Work of Christ does not leave his present life unaffected. Christianity involves ethical conduct--both for individuals and nations.<sup>225</sup> Melville states that "semper Christi servi sumus, et ejus gloriam spectare debemus." He adds, "Nec solum jure creationis, sed multo magis jure redemptionis, quanti quantis sumus mancipio et nexu Dei in Christo obligamur."<sup>226</sup> Those in Christ are predestinated to share in the labours and sufferings of Christ, bearing His cross of shame.<sup>227</sup> Suffering with Christ must precede the participation in His glory. Yet knowledge of the future glory gives great comfort in this life, as many adversities must be endured, especially since we are part of the fellowship of Christ. Melville asserts:

Verum progrediamur. Alterum argumentum et crucis aequanimitate ferendae, et certitudinis gloriae futurae, per contentionem temporalium perpressionum et gloriae sempiternae, quod prae hac illae sint et leves et momentanae. . . .<sup>228</sup>

#### THE CHURCH

Certainly Melville gives ample evidence of a

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<sup>223</sup>Ibid., ("Argumentum Epistolae") p. 388.

<sup>224</sup>Ibid., (5:15-19) p. 450.

<sup>225</sup>Gordon, p. 235.

<sup>226</sup>Melville, *Romanos*, (14:4-15) pp. 502-503.

<sup>227</sup>Ibid., (8:18-39) p. 474.

<sup>228</sup>Ibid., (8:12-28) pp. 471-472.

profound and enduring love for the Church, the Kingdom where the Lordship of Christ is given full recognition. He sees Christ--the Prophet, Priest, and King--now as being "coelum ingressus ad dextram majestatis in solio consedit, donis et muneribus inde Ecclesiam cumulans Ephes. IV."<sup>229</sup> And he sees this Church which Christ is completing as one body; he concludes:

Sic nos multi, tanquam membra unius corporis, in capite Christo sumus: singillatim alii inter se aliorum membra, i. e. membrorum inter se omnium ad incolumitatem totius corporis, et singulorum membrorum summa conspiratio est atque conjunctio.<sup>230</sup>

The polity of the Church consists in doctrine, discipline, and distribution, to doctrine being annexed the administration of the sacraments.<sup>231</sup> And there are four offices in the Kirk--(1) the pastor, bishop, or minister, (2) the doctor, or professor, (3) the presbyter, and (4) the deacon.<sup>232</sup>

#### THE SACRAMENTS

As part of his love for Christ and the Church is Melville's highest regard for the two sacraments instituted by Christ for His Kirk. He declares:

Quotquot baptizantur, in communionem mortis Christi baptizantur, i. e. ut cum Christo mortui peccato commoriantur, quam peccati in nobis mortem obsignat baptismi sacramentum: At quotquot justificati sunt, baptizantur, ergo in communionem mortis Christi baptizantur.

In Christ we are baptized into death. However, baptism

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<sup>229</sup> Ibid., (1:15) p. 395.

<sup>230</sup> Ibid., (12:3-8) p. 492.

<sup>231</sup> *Second Book of Discipline*, II. 2.

<sup>232</sup> Ibid., II. 6.

also involves a communication with Christ in His resurrection. Though Christ was dead, in a disgraceful condition, He was raised and glorified by the Father. And "cum Christo resurgamus ad justitiae studium, quam vocat vita novitatem." Therefore "tessera est baptismus, quippe symbolum nostrae regenerationis." Baptism, then, symbolizes our participation and our communion in both the death and resurrection of Christ, as we die and rise with Him. Our baptism, which symbolizes our death and resurrection, consists of two parts, "veteris hominis mortificatio, quam hic mortem et sepulturam vocat, et novi hominis resurrectio, quam illustrat similitudine resurrectionis Christi." Concerning this communion which we share with Christ, Melville adds:

Similitudinem mortis, et similitudinem resurrectionis Christi vocat communionem cum Christo in morte et resurrectione, qua vis a morte et resurrectione Christi in nos dimanat ad perimendam peccati vim, et vigorem vividum sanctimoniae nobis instillandum, quo nos Christo capiti conformes in morte et vita reddamur.<sup>233</sup>

#### SUMMARY

This sketch of Melville's doctrine of the Mediator is admittedly brief and incomplete with many questions left unanswered. But it is all that can be attempted on the basis of the available works by and about Melville. Also this sketch is based largely on his commentary on the Epistle to the Romans, the only theological treatise remaining from his writings. It might well be argued that many doctrines and emphases would have appeared differently had the work been on the epistle to the

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<sup>233</sup>Melville, *Romanos*, (6:1-12) pp. 454-456.

Hebrews or Galatians. But, at any rate, in Melville's theology certain stresses seem to be quite apparent.

In his theological framework it appears that the doctrine of union with Christ is beginning to become merely another benefit acquired by the one believing in Christ. And although he stresses the two natures of Christ, He seems to be losing sight of the immense emphasis placed on the humanity of Christ by the Reformers. He stresses more strongly the substitutionary character of Christ's work than His vicarious representation, and thus seems to be heading in the path which was later forged by the federal Calvinists.

This trend is very much evidenced in his teaching on the two kingdoms in which Christ's kingly rule is seen basically as applying only to the Church, rather than to all things and all men. He appears to overlook the ontological bond established by the Incarnation between Christ and the entire human race. Thus in the matter of predestination the stress falls on the sovereign, just act of God rather than on Christ, the Elect One, the divinely-appointed man for all men, the universal representative and substitute for sinful men.

Melville's teaching on both the work of Christ and the offices of Christ emphasizes their once-for-all character. He appears to lose sight of the continuing priestly ministry of Christ whereby He makes intercession before the Father for men. And justification and sanctification are divided, with justification becoming a legal, forensic act performed once-for-all when one offers the appropriate response, faith. Though Melville does

teach the filial concept of adoption to sonship, the filial is certainly subordinated to the forensic in his scheme. And although he does not omit teaching on Christ's life of obedience and His fulfilling the requirements of the Law for us, he concentrates his attention on the death and resurrection of Christ.

These tendencies toward the thought-forms of the later federalists are also seen in his teaching on the sacraments. While he states that these ordinances symbolize what Christ has done for us, he strongly stresses our participation in the sacraments, the fact of our being baptized, and our communion with Christ in His saving work. This teaching on human experience indeed can often become as important existentially to the individual as Christ Himself when carried to the logical conclusion, as in the later Calvinists.

## CHAPTER III

### JOHN WELCH

Among early Scottish theologians and ministers John Welch of Ayr<sup>1</sup> (1570?-1622)<sup>2</sup> certainly stands as a most unique individual. It is said that both his experiences in seeking the Lord and his fruitfulness in converting souls are unparalleled in Scotland.<sup>3</sup> And it is said that "he, as a shining and burning light, did inlighten that whole Countrey, who at that time was in many places destitut of Pastors."<sup>4</sup> At his death Calder-

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<sup>1</sup>Sometimes spelled Welsh or Welsch.

<sup>2</sup>T. F. Henderson, "Welch or Welsh, John," *Dictionary of National Biography*, 1899, LX, 154.

<sup>3</sup>"The Life of the Rev. Mr. John Welch, Minister of the Gospel in Ayr," (author unknown), Printed in John Welch, *Forty-eight Select Sermons, Preached by that Eminent and Faithful Servant of Jesus Christ Mr John Welch, Some Time Minister of the Gospel in Ayr* (Glasgow: D. Mackenzie, no date given), p. 14 (Hereafter designated as "Life").

<sup>4</sup>Matthew Craford, "The Preface to the Lovers of the Reformed Religion in Britain and Ireland," Printed in John Welsch, *Popery Anatomized, or A Learned, Pious, and Elaborat Treatise; Wherein Many of the Greatest and Weightiest Points of Controversy, Between Us and Papists, are Handled; and the Truth of our Doctrine Clearly Proved: And the Falshood of Their Religion and Doctrine Anatomized, and Laid Open, and Most Evidently Convicted and Confuted by Scripture, Fathers, and Also by Some of Their own Popes, Doctors, Cardinals, and of Their Own Writers. In Answer to M. Gilbert Brown, Priest* (2nd ed.; Glasgow: Robert Sanders, 1672), provisional page number 3 (Hereafter designated as Craford and with the understanding that all page numbers are provisional, i. e., not inserted by the printer and part of the work as originally printed.



wood asserts that he was given the "deserved name of ane holie man, a painfull and powerfull preachour, and a constant sufferer for the trueth."<sup>5</sup> As both a minister and as a theologian he was one of the men used of God, during the difficult days of struggle between the king and the Reformed Church in Scotland, in keeping alive the great truths which had been rediscovered in the Reformation.

Because of his influence in Scottish theology an understanding of his thought is both helpful and representative in viewing the theology of his time and in seeking to ascertain whether or not there were changes beginning to take place theologically as the Church moved from the Reformation to the Westminster Assembly. Although Welch was much closer both chronologically and theologically to the Reformation, one wonders, when studying his writings, if perhaps certain interconnections or relationships, which had been so clearly articulated in the Reformation concerning the Mediator, were not beginning to lose some of their distinctive character. Certainly for Welch the doctrine of the Mediator is the very heart of theology, and it was his desire that Christ be glorified and exalted in both his teaching and in his personal life.

#### THE MAN, HIS LIFE, MINISTRY, AND CONTRIBUTIONS TO SCOTLAND

In his piety and communion with God Welch was most singular and rare,<sup>6</sup> and the fame of his zeal was also

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<sup>5</sup>David Calderwood, *The History of the Kirk of Scotland* (8 vols.; Edinburgh: Wodrow Society, 1849), Vol. VII, p. 511.

<sup>6</sup>Craford, p. 6.

great.<sup>7</sup> He was known both as "an example that imitated Christ,"<sup>8</sup> and as "the man of prayer above all others."<sup>9</sup> It was his custom to spend eight hours a day in prayer unless he was hindered by necessary and urgent duties, and many days and nights he spent in fasting and prayer for the Church of Christ.<sup>10</sup> His writings and letters attest "what earnest desires and groanings this holy man had for the full enjoyments of God, and what full assurance of faith he enjoyed."<sup>11</sup> Even in sickness he was seen to be overcome with the sensible enjoyment of God.<sup>12</sup> But also

he was most zealous and tender of all the truths of God, and studied to the utmost of his power, to advance the kingdom and interest of Christ; not esteeming his life dear to him for the cause of Christ; yea, accounting it his great honor to suffer for him and his truth.<sup>13</sup>

But his great zeal and piety never nullified his sense of compassion and tenderness for other human beings.<sup>14</sup>

It was in his controversy with a Roman Catholic Priest, Gilbert Brown, that Welch's superior talents and learning were most remarkably displayed.<sup>15</sup> His work

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<sup>7</sup> John Maxwell, "The Unloading of Issachars Burden," Printed in Robert Baylie, *An Historical Vindication of the Government of the Church of Scotland, From the Manifold Base Calumnies Which the Most Malignant, of the Prelates Did Invent of Old, and Now Lately Have Been Published With Great Industry in Two Pamphlets at London* (London: Samuel Gellibrand, 1646), p. 56.

<sup>8</sup> "Life," p. 11.

<sup>9</sup> Walker, p. 171.

<sup>10</sup> Craford, p. 6.

<sup>11</sup> Ibid., p. 17.

<sup>12</sup> Ibid., p. 6.

<sup>13</sup> Ibid., p. 18.

<sup>14</sup> Walker, p. 171.

<sup>15</sup> "Introduction," (author unlisted), Printed in *Letter*

entitled *Popery Anatomized* . . . was written to defend Reformed theology against papal attacks. It shows that Welch was "well versed in the early protestant theology, both practical and polemical."<sup>16</sup> In addition to this learned and powerful work,<sup>17</sup> there is a remaining volume of about fifty sermons which at one time were in great demand by the peasant patriarchs of rural Scotland.<sup>18</sup> There is also another work written in France entitled *L' Armageddon de la Babylon Apocalyptique* (Jonsac, 1612),<sup>19</sup> which deals with the enemies of the Church and their destruction, but this work is exceedingly rare.<sup>20</sup> And there remain at least two letters written during his imprisonment which reveal his inner longings for God and His kingdom.

In Welch there was a combination of fervent piety and great learning; one of his contemporaries wrote of him, "Master Welsh was a man altogether Apostolike, of rare both learning and piety." He is described as one of the "scholarly saints of the Kirk," held in the highest esteem

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*of Mr. John Welch, Minister of Ayr, While he was Under Sentence of Death for Declining the Jurisdiction of a Civil Court, in an Ecclesiastical Matter* (Edinburgh: John Lindsay and Company, 1839), p. 2.

<sup>16</sup>Macleod, p. 49. Macleod adds that "this work lets one see that our early Scottish preachers were not at a loss when they were challenged to stand up for the faith that was in them."

<sup>17</sup>Craford, p. 18.

<sup>18</sup>Macleod, p. 49.

<sup>19</sup>T. F. Henderson, "Welch," p. 155.

<sup>20</sup>"Life," p. 14.

of the godly.<sup>21</sup> But while it is true that "he was excellently accomplished in all kind of literature, and eminent for piety and zeal for the kingdom of Christ,"<sup>22</sup> it is equally true that he never made a show of his learning and scholastic pursuits.<sup>23</sup>

Welch was born a gentleman,<sup>24</sup> studied under Robert Rollock at the University of Edinburgh,<sup>25</sup> and graduated with the degree of M.A. in 1588. He married Elizabeth Knox, the youngest daughter of the Scottish Reformer,<sup>26</sup> and was called to the ministry about the year 1588, at the town of Kircubright, where he was most faithful "in preaching, catechising, visiting the sick, and disputing and convincing of Papists." After several years of ministry in this town, he was transferred by the General Assembly to Ayr (or "Air"), a larger town with a greater challenge for the minister. There it is recorded that he laboured most diligently, preaching twice every day,<sup>27</sup> until he was called upon to suffer along with other notable Scottish ministers who refused to submit the Church to the rule of the king.<sup>28</sup>

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<sup>21</sup>Maxwell, p. 56; Macleod, p. 48.

<sup>22</sup>Craford, p. 2.

<sup>23</sup>"Life," p. 14.

<sup>24</sup>Ibid., p. 9. His father was laird of Coliestoun in the shire of Nithsdale.

<sup>25</sup>Macleod, p. 49.

<sup>26</sup>T. F. Henderson, "Welch," pp. 154-155.

<sup>27</sup>Craford, pp. 2-3.

<sup>28</sup>"Life," pp. 18-19.

Welch always laboured faithfully as a minister; at one point he explained to his wife that he was agonizing in prayer for the souls of three thousand people under his charge and for whom he was responsible.<sup>29</sup> Hence, it is not surprising that he was known as "a singularly holy man and an eminently successful minister."<sup>30</sup> It is said that "Mr. Welch's preaching was spiritual and searching; his utterance tender and moving." One of his hearers reported "that a man could hardly hear him, and forbear weeping, his conveyance was so affecting."<sup>31</sup> His preaching had about it a deep impression of the great and dreadful majesty of God which caused him to speak with great boldness and authority.<sup>32</sup> During his time of ministry in Ayr there was a great revival of religion, and many souls were converted through his preaching.<sup>33</sup> Such crowds were drawn to hear his preaching that the town council resolved to build a new church building to accommodate the large crowds that came to hear him.<sup>34</sup> Concerning his work at Ayr, Macleod summarizes, "His work there was done in the compass of three years. Yet the memory of it has persisted as one of the brightest times of spiritual enlargement that the Church of his

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<sup>29</sup>Craford, pp. 2-3 and 6.

<sup>30</sup>"Introduction," p. 2.

<sup>31</sup>"Life," p. 14.

<sup>32</sup>Craford, p. 17.

<sup>33</sup>"Introduction," p. 2.

<sup>34</sup>T. F. Henderson, Welch," p. 154.

land ever enjoyed."<sup>35</sup> He was considered as an example to be imitated, a counselor, and a peacemaker. And it was by his efforts and example that the town was made little by little a peaceable habitation,<sup>36</sup> and its public manners were reformed.<sup>37</sup>

Welch is said by his biographers to have had a very distinct gift of prophecy, that is, foretelling certain events, which in many cases appears to have been nothing short of miraculous.<sup>38</sup> It was through his prayers and advice, for example, that the city of Ayr was protected from the plague as he warned that two travelling merchants were carrying the disease on their backs (they went on to Cumnock, where a horrible infection followed them).<sup>39</sup> On another occasion a young man, pronounced dead by doctors, was raised by his continued and fervent prayers.<sup>40</sup> An equally remarkable incident was the conversion of a friar who happened to overhear the groanings uttered nightly by Welch in his prayers to God.<sup>41</sup>

But, as in the case of any man who is being so mightily used of God, there was opposition. In Welch's case the opposition was in the form of the king. Although

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<sup>35</sup> Macleod, p. 49.

<sup>36</sup> "Life," p. 13.

<sup>37</sup> T. F. Henderson, "Welch," p. 154.

<sup>38</sup> See Craford, pp. 8ff. for several specific examples.

<sup>39</sup> "Life," p. 18.

<sup>40</sup> Ibid., pp. 36-37.

<sup>41</sup> Craford, p. 7.

in 1605 the king had forbidden the General Assembly from meeting, a number of ministers met briefly in Aberdeen. While he himself had not been present, Welch was accused with those who assembled because he had approved of their action.<sup>42</sup> He and his brethren were imprisoned and brought to trial before the Lords of the Secret Council. But they declined the jurisdiction of the Council on the grounds that "the question of the lawfulness and propriety of holding an Assembly was an ecclesiastical matter, and should be decided by an ecclesiastical court."<sup>43</sup> They were accused of high treason, tried, declared guilty, and sentenced to death. However the king commuted the sentence to perpetual banishment from his majesty's territories and they were put aboard a ship which sailed from Leith to Bordeaux.<sup>44</sup> Even though the ministers<sup>45</sup> were offered gentle treatment if they would accept the Council's jurisdiction and ask forgiveness for what they had done at Aberdeen, they refused to compromise their convictions in such a matter.<sup>46</sup>

Upon arriving in France Welch set about diligently to master the French language, and within fourteen weeks he was able to preach in French. For sixteen years he

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<sup>42</sup>"Life," pp. 19-20.

<sup>43</sup>"Introduction," p. 2.

<sup>44</sup>T. F. Henderson, "Welch," pp. 154-155.

<sup>45</sup>The other ministers were John Forbes (moderator), Andrew Duncan, John Sharp, Robert Dury, and Alexander Strachan. Craford, p. 3.

<sup>46</sup>"Introduction," p. 4.



ministered among the Huguenots,<sup>47</sup> pastoring churches in Nerac, Jonsac, and then St. Jean d'Angely in Saintonage.<sup>48</sup> When the latter city was attacked Welch showed great zeal in encouraging the citizens in their efforts at resisting the seige. When Welch continued preaching after the capitulation of the city, he was summoned before the king who reprimanded him for violating the law by using a form of religious service other than that established by Law. It is recorded that

to this remonstrance Welch shrewdly replied that if the king knew what he preached he would himself both come to hear him and make all his subjects do the same, for what he preached was that there was none on earth above the king, which none who had adhered to the people would say. This shrewd answer so pleased the king that he answered, "Very well, father, you shall be my minister," and promised him his protection.<sup>49</sup>

When his flock in France was scattered,<sup>50</sup> and his health was declining, Welch was given permission from the king of England to return to London.<sup>51</sup> But he refused to allow him to return to his native Scotland, lest he hinder the king's establishment of bishops.<sup>52</sup> And he was not allowed to preach in London until all hope of life was gone; then he preached long and fervently what was to be his last sermon, for he died two hours afterwards at

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<sup>47</sup> Macleod, p. 49.

<sup>48</sup> "Life," pp. 34-35; T. F. Henderson, "Welch," p. 155.

<sup>49</sup> T. F. Henderson, "Welch," p. 155.

<sup>50</sup> "Life," p. 41.

<sup>51</sup> T. F. Henderson, "Welch," p. 155.

<sup>52</sup> "Life," p. 42. Welch always refused to put his neck under the episcopal yoke. Maxwell, p. 56. While in London during that short interval of time, it is recorded that through Dr. Young, dean

the age of fifty-two.<sup>53</sup>

### THEOLOGY PROPER

The devotion and dedication of Welch centres in one God who exists eternally in the three Persons of the Father, the Son, and the Holy Spirit.<sup>54</sup> This God is a God of love, and it is this attribute above all which seems to captivate Welch's attention.<sup>55</sup> God's love is constant and unchangeable, strong and invincible; furthermore, it is free and cannot be hindered by our unworthiness.<sup>56</sup> One passage of Scripture which seems to be quoted time and time again is Romans 8:35-39 which states:

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of Winchester, an attempt was made to obtain from him a general approval of episcopacy, but without effect. To his wife, who had gone to the king to ask his remission, the king answered that he would gladly pardon him if she would induce him to submit to the bishops, to which she replied that she would rather receive his decapitated head in her lap--"Please, your majesty, I had rather keep his head there." T. F. Henderson, "Welch," p. 155.

<sup>53</sup>"Life," p. 42 and T. F. Henderson, "Welch," p. 155.

<sup>54</sup>John Welch, *Forty-eight Select Sermons Preached by that Eminent and Faithful Servant of Jesus Christ Mr John Welch, Some Time Minister of the Gospel in Ayr* (Glasgow: D. MacKenzie, no date given), Sermon V (Revelation 20:11), pp. 60-61 (Hereafter designated by Sermon number with text and page number).

<sup>55</sup>He exclaims, "O ocean of never-fading pleasure! O love of loves! O the height and depth, and breadth, and length of that love of thine that passeth knowledge! O uncreated love! Beginning without beginning, and ending--without end!" and "When shall I be filled with thy love? Certainly if a man knew how precious it were, he would count all things dross and dung to gain it. I would long for that scaffold, or that ax, or that cord, that might be to me that last step of this my wearisome journey to go to thee my Lord." Craford, pp. 15-16.

<sup>56</sup>Sermon XXI (II Corinthians 7:5, Psalm 88:1) p. 305.

(35) Who shall separate us from the love of Christ? *shall* tribulation, or distress, or persecution, or famine, or nakedness, or peril, or sword?

(36) As it is written, For thy sake we are killed all the day long; we are accounted as sheep for the slaughter.

(37) Nay, in all these things we are more than conquerors through him that loved us.

(38) For I am persuaded, that neither death, nor life, nor angels, nor principalities, nor powers, nor things present, nor things to come,

(39) Nor height, nor depth, nor any other creature, shall be able to separate us from the love of God, which is in Christ Jesus our Lord.<sup>57</sup>

God is a benevolent Father who gives us cause to rejoice because there is never a moment in all our lives but that He is loading us with new benefits<sup>58</sup> and love-tokens of Himself.<sup>59</sup> He has given us His love, His grace, His promises, and His gifts freely apart from any merit or worth on our part.<sup>60</sup> Whereas our sins are finite, His love is infinite;<sup>61</sup> Welch teaches his hearers concerning God:

for he knew, before he loved thee or chose thee what sins thou wouldst fall into, and he would have mercy on such as he knew to be the greatest sinners, that so much the more his free grace might shine clearly in thy salvation.<sup>62</sup>

God in fact delights in showing mercy on poor penitent sinners,<sup>63</sup> and has done good to us even when we have justly provoked him to anger.<sup>64</sup>

Of all the expressions of God's love for us, His greatest love-token is the giving of His own Son, whom

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<sup>57</sup> Craford, p. 15 and "Life," p. 24.

<sup>58</sup> Sermon XXXIV (Luke 1:74-75) p. 414.

<sup>59</sup> Sermon XXXI (Exodus 20:4-6) p. 389.

<sup>60</sup> Sermon XX (I John 4:7-8) p. 298.

<sup>61</sup> Sermon XXI (II Corinthians 7:5; Psalm 88:1), p. 305.

<sup>62</sup> Sermon XX (I John 4:7-8) p. 302.

<sup>63</sup> Sermon I (Revelation 20:11), p. 61.

<sup>64</sup> Sermon III (Revelation 2:2-3), p. 83.

He sent from heaven to take our flesh and blood, to be clad with the sackcloth of our human nature, to be subject to all our infirmities, except sin, to expose Himself to all kinds of shame and ignominy, and to die the cursed death of the cross for us that we might live with Him eternally.<sup>65</sup> God sent Christ to be the light, the life, and the salvation of the world,<sup>66</sup> and to reconcile us while we were His enemies.<sup>67</sup> Welch assures his hearers that the Incarnation is the great proof and demonstration of God's love and saving purposes for the world. He insists:

What greater argument could the Father give to you, of the certainty of salvation, than to send his Son into the world, and to take your nature, and to become your brother, and be obedient to his Father's will unto the very death of the cross, and be so far humbled as to be laid in the grave?<sup>68</sup>

Indeed God has wonderfully shown His love by taking for Himself a wife of the seed of Abraham, rather than from the angels in heaven.<sup>69</sup>

Therefore, when Welch speaks of the love of God, he refers to the love of God in Christ, for he exclaims "My beloved, the Father loves him well, and all the Father's love is in the Son; he has no love but that

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<sup>65</sup> Sermon III (Revelation 2:2-3), p. 90.

<sup>66</sup> John Welsch, *Popery Anatomized, or a Learned, Pious and Elaborat Treatise; Wherein Many of the Greatest and Weightiest Points of Controversie, Between Us and Papists, are Handled; and the Truth of our Doctrine Clearly Proved: And the Falshood of Their Religion and Doctrine Anatomized, and Laid Open, and Most Evidently Convicted and Confuted by Scripture, Fathers, and Also by Some of Their own Popes, Doctors, Cardinals, and of Their own Writers. In Answer to M. Gilbert Brown, Priest.* (2nd Ed.; Glasgow: Robert Sanders, 1672), p. 30 (Hereafter designated as *Popery*).

<sup>67</sup> Sermon XLVIII (Romans 8:1-37) p. 520.

<sup>68</sup> Sermon XLIV (John 3:19), pp. 484-485.

<sup>69</sup> Sermon III (Revelation 2:2-3), p. 89.

which is in the Son."<sup>70</sup> It is in Christ that we are loved by the Father, and He sees no sin in us because of the imputation of Christ's righteousness.<sup>71</sup> In the Son God gives Himself to us,<sup>72</sup> and His promises are made to us in the blood of Jesus Christ.<sup>73</sup>

But in Welch's mind the love of God seems to be restricted to His own children. He states that from before the world was created, God inscribed the names of those who are His children in the book of life and then calls them effectually.<sup>74</sup> Welch asserts rather emphatically that "it is not every sinner God loves, it is only penitent and believing sinners."<sup>75</sup> Furthermore, his hearers are warned that they cannot be loved unless they are in the Son.<sup>76</sup>

#### THE PERSON OF CHRIST

While the deity of Christ is never questioned in Welch's writings,<sup>77</sup> it is the humanity of Christ that is given the greater stress. Christ is acknowledged to

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<sup>70</sup>Sermon XLI (Isaiah 42:3), p. 455.

<sup>71</sup>Sermon XX (I John 4:7-8), p. 302.

<sup>72</sup>Sermon III (Revelation 2:2-3), p. 90.

<sup>73</sup>Sermon XXXI (Exodus 20:4-6), p. 389.

<sup>74</sup>Sermon III (Revelation 2:2-3), p. 90.

<sup>75</sup>Sermon XX (I John 4:7-8), p. 301.

<sup>76</sup>Sermon XLI (Isaiah 42:3), p. 455.

<sup>77</sup>Christ is to be worshipped along with the Father and with the Holy Ghost forevermore (Sermon I [Revelation 20:11], p. 61). Christ is the fountain of all blessing and holiness, in whom dwells the fulness of the Godhead (*Popery*, p. 183).

be a true man,<sup>78</sup> whose name is Emmanuel, "that is, God with us, our God made flesh, our God manifested in the flesh."<sup>79</sup> Although he is the Son of God he has become our brother by being made flesh for our sake;<sup>80</sup> hence Welch often refers to Christ as "our elder brother" because of the assumption of our humanity in the Incarnation. The truth of Christ's manhood whereby He was made of the woman, is seen by Welch as the "main foundation of man's salvation (without the which there is no eternal life)."<sup>81</sup> It was in His first coming that Christ descended from His Father's glory to shame and ignominy, from a palace to a crib, and from the seat of His majesty to be slain on a tree.<sup>82</sup> Yet this great humiliation was endured by Christ for our sake, that we might be reconciled to our loving Father through Him.<sup>83</sup>

For Welch both the humanity and the deity of Christ are absolutely essential; he declares:

O Sinner, thou must believe that Jesus Christ is the only begotten Son of God, clothed in our nature; and that it is through the virtue of his being God as well as man, that this everlasting life is to be had.<sup>84</sup>

Thus the heresy of Eutyches is refuted, because he taught that there is only one nature in Christ made of

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<sup>78</sup> *Popery*, p. 334.

<sup>79</sup> Sermon I (Revelation 20:11), p. 52.

<sup>80</sup> Sermon IX (Revelation 2:5), p. 172.

<sup>81</sup> *Popery*, pp. 384-385.

<sup>82</sup> Sermon I (Revelation 20:11), p. 52.

<sup>83</sup> Sermon III (Revelation 2:2-3), p. 93.

<sup>84</sup> Sermon XLII (John 3:16-17), p. 462.

His divinity and His humanity. And with Eutyches all who deny the truth of these two natures are also condemned because they overthrow the fountain of our salvation.<sup>85</sup> Certainly this Christ--God and man--is seen by Welch to be the author of our religion, both in the Old Testament and in the New Testament, as everything points to Him and is fulfilled in Him.<sup>86</sup>

#### THE OFFICES OF CHRIST

Christ is referred to as the husband,<sup>87</sup> the head and captain of all,<sup>88</sup> our Redeemer,<sup>89</sup> the foreknown and foretold Saviour who was to come,<sup>90</sup> our brother and our Advocate,<sup>91</sup> as well as the porter who holds open the gates of heaven continually for us<sup>92</sup> so that none can bar us out.<sup>93</sup> But Christ has been appointed unto a special three-fold office; Welch explains:

But the Lord was rich in mercy towards us, in bestowing himself upon us, not only as a Prophet to teach us, and as a Priest to satisfy for our sins, and to intercede for us, but also as a sovereign King, to govern us with that self same form of

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<sup>85</sup> *Popery*, p. 20.

<sup>86</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 316.

<sup>87</sup> Sermon XLI (Isaiah 42:3), p. 456.

<sup>88</sup> Sermon XI (Ephesians 6:10-21), p. 189.

<sup>89</sup> *Popery*, "Unto the Godly and Christian of the Land," provisional page number 4 (Hereafter designated *Popery*, "Christian Reader").

<sup>90</sup> Sermon XLI (Isaiah 42:3), p. 454.

<sup>91</sup> Sermon I (Revelation 20:11), pp. 54-55.

<sup>92</sup> Sermon XVII (Ephesians 6:18), p. 262.

<sup>93</sup> Sermon XIX (Ephesians 6:18), p. 283.



government, which he hath commanded in his Word, and unto the which he hath annexed the promise of his blessing and presence, with his own Laws, Offices, and Officers.<sup>94</sup>

As the great Prophet Christ has revealed the whole will of the Father unto His servants, "and hath left it in register in his latter Testament; and hath forbidden to add, empair, or to alter the same," with a curse toward those who might so alter or empair it.<sup>95</sup> Christ has come out of the bosom of the Father that He might reveal unto us the whole counsel of God.<sup>96</sup>

The Scripture also presents Christ as the only Priest of the New Testament, who abides for ever in an everlasting priesthood which cannot pass away, unlike the Old Testament priests who died and had to be replaced.<sup>97</sup> Furthermore, not only is Christ's priesthood eternal, but also the sacrifice He offered, which was Himself, can be offered only by Him, which He has done once upon the cross. This sacrifice is perfect, and its virtue endures forever; thus "it cannot, nor should be reiterat."<sup>98</sup>

As the great Priest of the New Testament Christ is "now sitting in glory at the right hand of His Majesty,"<sup>99</sup> where He is making intercession for us,<sup>100</sup> particularly for

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<sup>94</sup> *Poperly*, "Christian Reader," pp. 2-3.

<sup>95</sup> *Poperly*, p. 385.

<sup>96</sup> Sermon III (Revelation 2:2-3), p. 93.

<sup>97</sup> *Poperly*, pp. 162-163.

<sup>98</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 124-126.

<sup>99</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 167.

<sup>100</sup> Sermon XVIII (Ephesians 6:18), p. 268.

His own given Him of the Father.<sup>101</sup> Welch teaches concerning this continual intercession of Christ:

And because thy prayers are foul and corrupt with sin; therefore he is that angel that stands with that golden censer in his hand before the altar, "To whom was given much incense, that he should offer it with the prayers of all the saints upon the golden altar, which was before the throne, and a great smoke of the perfume came up with the prayers of the saints, before the face of God out of the hand of the angel," Revelation 8:3-4. He is that Aaron, that puts in that sweet odour of his blood, and perfumes thy prayers with the sweet-smelling savour of His righteousness, and then presents them to the Father.<sup>102</sup>

It is because this Son of the King takes us by the hand and leads us unto the Father and by His blood has made a way for the sinner to step boldly into heaven, that we may step "not to the holy of holies, but into the highest heavens."<sup>103</sup> And since prayer is due only to God, and Christ is our Intercessor, any prayer to saints departed is "both idolatrous, and injurious to Christ his intercession and mediation."<sup>104</sup> But those in Christ can come boldly before the Father's throne and claim all the promises made to them in Christ,<sup>105</sup> with full confidence and assurance that in Him they will find grace and mercy

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<sup>101</sup> John Welch, "A Preface, and Preparation Sermon," A *Collection of Lectures and Sermons, Preached Upon Several Subjects, Mostly in the Time of the Persecution; Wherein a Faithful and Doctrinal Testimony is Transmitted to Posterity for the Doctrine, Worship, Discipline and Government of the Church of Scotland, Against Popery, Erastianism, etc. by These Faithful Ministers of Jesus Christ, Mr. William Guthrie, Michael Bruce, John Welwood, Richard Cameron, Mr. Donald Cargilly, Alex. Peden, and Alex. Shields. To Which are Added Some Sacramental Discourses, by Mr. John Livingston, Minister of Stranruer, and Mr. John Welch, and a Sermon on the Breach of the Covenant by Mr. John Guthrie, Minister of Tarbolton* (Kilmarnock: Joseph Graham, & Co., 1809), p. 547 (Hereafter designated as "Preface").

<sup>102</sup> Sermon XIX (Ephesians 6:18), pp. 283-284.

<sup>103</sup> Sermon XVII (Ephesians 6:18), p. 259.

<sup>104</sup> *Popery*, pp. 193-194.

<sup>105</sup> Sermon XLI (Isaiah 42:3), p. 458.

to help in time of need.<sup>106</sup> The Father will not deny what is asked of Him in the name of His Son, in whom He is well pleased.<sup>107</sup> Welch asserts, "He cannot hide his eyes from his own flesh and blood: he can deny nothing to his own beloved Son, that makes intercession for his saints."<sup>108</sup>

Because of the priesthood of Christ there is a sense in which those in Him are made priests, that is, participants in His priestly ministry. We are made priests that can step into the Father's presence at any hour with the blood of His own Son the Lord Jesus.<sup>109</sup> Those in Christ constitute "a royal priesthood," his priests who come by virtue of the blood of the immaculate Lamb who has been slain from the beginning of the world and takes away the sins of the world. Welch insists:

So not only are ye priests, but ye are high priests, who may step into heaven where Christ is, and there present not only yourselves, but every one of your may bear the twelve tribes of Israel upon your breast, and so present the whole bodies, and all the members of Christ Jesus in thy arms before God, and intercede for them.<sup>110</sup>

Welch also sees Christ as the "King of Kings, and Lord of glory,"<sup>111</sup> the Prince of life, the great one sitting upon the throne, and the God of glory.<sup>112</sup> Christ

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<sup>106</sup> *Popery*, "Christian Reader," pp. 14-15.

<sup>107</sup> Sermon XLII (John 3:16-17), p. 470.

<sup>108</sup> *Popery*, "Christian Reader," p. 14.

<sup>109</sup> Sermon XVII (Ephesians 6:18), p. 259.

<sup>110</sup> Sermon XXXVIII (I Peter 2:9), p. 439.

<sup>111</sup> *Popery*, "Epistle Dedicatory," (King James VI), provisional page number 1.

<sup>112</sup> Sermon I (Revelation 20:11), p. 55.

came from the stock of David, succeeded to his kingdom, sat on his throne, and now is a crowned king in heaven.<sup>113</sup>

Those who fail to recognize the Lordship of Christ are now, and will later be shown to be, "guilty of high treason against the King of kings, the Lord Jesus Christ, his crown and kingdom."<sup>114</sup> Welch explains concerning Christ:

His Kingly office stands in two things: The one is in the inward operation of his Spirit. The other is in the exercise and ministry of the Word, Sacraments, and Discipline, which he hath ordained for that end.<sup>115</sup>

Thus Christ's kingly office pertains especially to His Church, over which He is the King and head.<sup>116</sup> His throne now is one of grace where we may find grace, and is not only for those in Him, but for all penitent sinners who will come.<sup>117</sup>

As the Prophet, Priest, and King Christ stands as the only Mediator between God and man, and our communion with God must be through Him.<sup>118</sup> He is our Advocate and Mediator who "hath gone before and paved the way with his blood, and has made a new and living way" for us to come to heaven.<sup>119</sup> When we are under deep conviction of sin, we can turn our eyes toward the Mediator in

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<sup>113</sup>Sermon XXX (II Corinthians 5:14-15), p. 376.

<sup>114</sup>"Life," p. 29.

<sup>115</sup>*Popery*, p. 402.

<sup>116</sup>"Preface," p. 538.

<sup>117</sup>Sermon I (Revelation 20:11), p. 52.

<sup>118</sup>Sermon XXXIV (Luke 1:74-75), p. 413.

<sup>119</sup>Sermon XIX (Ephesians 6:18), p. 283.

heaven.<sup>120</sup> But Welch instructs his hearers:

Thou may not step to the Father at the nearest, but thou must go first to the Mediator, and desire him first to perfume, and then present thy prayers to the Father, and that he would request the Father to accept of them, and to be merciful unto thee for his sake.

His mediation is a warrant for us, He is requesting for us, and He has sent His Spirit to help our infirmities "with unspeakable sighs and groans which cannot be expressed."<sup>121</sup> Because He is at the Father's right hand making continual intercession for us,<sup>122</sup> we can and should pray; Welch exhorts his listeners:

Pray, because ye have a Mediator and Advocate in heaven, even Jesus (the just), he makes continual intercession for you, and he is spreading out his arms ever in his word, and saying to every one of you, come in here, sinners, within the compass of my blood, wash your foul souls in this fountain; come in unto me, and I shall present you and your prayers both to the Father; I will perfume them with the incense of my righteousness, and the Father will accept of them for my sake.<sup>123</sup>

Welch seems to limit the mediation of Christ to the present age, for he asserts that whereas Christ's first coming was as a Saviour and Mediator between God and man, "in his last coming, he shall not come as a Lamb, but as a Judge, convoyed with all his angels and saints in heaven." He will come to Judge the whole earth,<sup>124</sup> which will be His proper work in that day.<sup>125</sup>

<sup>120</sup> Sermon IX (Revelation 2:5), p. 163.

<sup>121</sup> Sermon XIX (Ephesians 6:18), pp. 284-285.

<sup>122</sup> Sermon XXXIX (John 10:27-28), p. 446.

<sup>123</sup> Sermon XVIII (Ephesians 6:18), p. 271.

<sup>124</sup> Sermon I (Revelation 20:11), p. 51.

<sup>125</sup> Sermon II (Revelation 20:12), p. 64.

This judgment will be carried out according to His humanity.<sup>126</sup> All will be judged by God through the man Christ Jesus,<sup>127</sup> and His judgment will be just and perfect.<sup>128</sup>

#### ELECTION AND PREDESTINATION

As also in the Reformers Christ is seen as the primary agent of election and predestination by Welch. He has been elected of God to be our head,<sup>129</sup> and chosen from out of our same race.<sup>130</sup> And it is in Christ Jesus that God has demonstrated the riches of His grace.<sup>131</sup>

But in his statements concerning predestination there are statements which are not easily reconciled with the remainder of his teaching. He speaks of some who were chosen in Christ from before the world was created,<sup>132</sup> in spite of their sinfulness<sup>133</sup> and brought to salvation

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<sup>126</sup> Sermon II (Revelation 20:12), p. 72. Welch explains, "For as the Father hath life in himself, so hath the Son, and he has given him power also to execute judgment, in that he is the Son of man: so it is true, he is the Son of man, even as he is man, he shall be sitting on a throne to judge the whole world; but he is more than the Son of man, for that same man is God, and the glory of God shall shine in his humanity, so that all shall see him, as as God, and they shall stand before God."

<sup>127</sup> *Popery*, "Epistle Dedicatory," p. 12.

<sup>128</sup> Sermon I (Revelation 20:11), p. 57 and Sermon II (Revelation 20:12), p. 64.

<sup>129</sup> Sermon XI (Ephesians 6:10-12), p. 186.

<sup>130</sup> Sermon XLI (Isaiah 42:3), p. 455.

<sup>131</sup> *Popery*, "Christian Reader," p. 5.

<sup>132</sup> Sermon XI (Ephesians 6:10-21), p. 186.

<sup>133</sup> Sermon XXI (II Corinthians 7:5; Psalm 88:1), p. 313.

by the sovereign and powerful working of God.<sup>134</sup> These are given repentance while it is denied others in order that "he may get glory, in making some to be vessels of mercy, and others to be vessels of wrath, appointed to destruction."<sup>135</sup> Welch proclaims to his congregation:

Consider that ye were taken out of the damned race of mankind; for all were shut up under unbelief, yet he has passed by many thousands in the world, and would never so much as look upon them in mercy; but he has looked upon you, and has spoken friendly and kindly unto you, saying, come unto me, poor sinners, weary and heavy laden with sins, for I will refresh you; suppose I look over many others, yet I will not that you perish.<sup>136</sup>

The "world" referred to in John 3:16 is considered "the elect world;" Christ was given as the greatest token of the Father's love for the elect world that they might be saved.<sup>137</sup> God is the Saviour of the world because His providence prevails over the whole world; "but especially he is the Saviour of the elect, because he will let none of his sheep perish."<sup>138</sup>

The reprobate are seen as those who curse and weary God and His saints, despising His mercy and trampling the blood of Jesus Christ under foot.<sup>139</sup> Instead of looking up to God, they continue toward the depths of God's wrath and fall into the flames of endless torment.<sup>140</sup>

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<sup>134</sup> Sermon II (Revelation 20:12), p. 75.

<sup>135</sup> Sermon VIII (Revelation 2:5), p. 153.

<sup>136</sup> Sermon III (Revelation 2:2-3), p. 90.

<sup>137</sup> Sermon XLII (John 3:16-17), p. 461.

<sup>138</sup> Sermon XXXVIII (I Peter 2:9), p. 440.

<sup>139</sup> Sermon IV (Revelation 2:5), p. 104.

<sup>140</sup> Sermon IV (Revelation 2:5), p. 107.



Thus Welch sees the cause why so many perish as lying not in God, but in the men themselves.<sup>141</sup> He explains:

I grant the love of God is great, and that blood was sufficient to ransom a thousand worlds; yet the cause why so many perish is not for want of virtue in the blood of the Son of God, but the cause is "because they believe not in the only-begotten Son of God."<sup>142</sup>

Therefore, at the day of judgment Christ will say to the reprobate, "Miserable wretch! thou mightest have been saved through my blood, but thou wouldst not." Hence none will be condemned but those that live condemned.<sup>143</sup> The agony of the reprobate will be greatly aggravated because they will see the glory of those in Christ which they could have had but refused.<sup>144</sup> But, nevertheless, Welch refuses to conclude the reprobation of any particular persons because of the greatness of God's power which is able to raise those dead in sin at any instant.<sup>145,146</sup>

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<sup>141</sup> Sermon XLIV (John 3:17), pp. 484-485.

<sup>142</sup> Sermon XLV (John 3:18), p. 491.

<sup>143</sup> Sermon XLV (John 3:18), pp. 491-493.

<sup>144</sup> Sermon I (Revelation 20:11), p. 55.

<sup>145</sup> Sermon XLVIII (Romans 8:1-37), p. 526.

<sup>146</sup> Welch is not consistent on this point, for he insists that the reprobate "hath feeling, for he feels a wrath that is unsupportable, he feels a devouring flame and a burning low seizing upon his conscience, and he feels the very stounds of reprobation cleaving his soul asunder; and this he feels without longing for mercy, without a thirst for peace, and without a desire to run to a Saviour; for he sees the door of mercy shut on him for evermore; and hath a persuasion, for he is persuaded God never loved him, nor choosed him; he is persuaded that Christ never redeemed him; he is persuaded that the Spirit never sanctified him; he is persuaded that all the creatures in earth are armed with wrath and vengeance against him, and are ready to execute the decreed judgment of God upon him." Sermon XII (Psalm 77:1-3), pp. 320-321.

THE COVENANT CONCEPT

Welch teaches that the blood of Christ was shed for "the sins of as many as the Father contracted for in the covenant of redemption." He apparently uses "covenant" and "contract" interchangeably, for he explains that

the Father gave him [Christ] a list of all, and made him a promise in the covenant, that such as he gave him should all come unto him--Christ made a covenant with the Father, that all should come, should be welcome; and the Father promises that he would lead them; and ere they should not come, he should drag them through hell, if nothing else would do them.<sup>147</sup>

As a part of this covenant or contract, which will be completed only at the last day,<sup>148</sup> is God's promise to give repentance to every believer who should pray for it.<sup>149</sup>

Whereas the first covenant was severe, the second covenant made by Jesus Christ is a sweet covenant; "it is all love; a covenant that hath this in it, 'I will require nothing from you, but I will give you'."<sup>150</sup> Thus it is a covenant purely of grace, not of nature,<sup>151</sup> a covenant in which God's law is written in our hearts, and He promises to be our God and claims us as His people.<sup>152</sup> This covenant is everlasting so that none in it can ever perish.<sup>153</sup> But Welch does speak of the personal, individual aspect of the covenant and invites all who have covenanted

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<sup>147</sup>"Preface," p. 550.

<sup>148</sup>Sermon VII (Revelation 2:5), p. 137.

<sup>149</sup>Sermon VIII (Revelation 2:5), p. 152.

<sup>150</sup>"Preface," p. 546.

<sup>151</sup>Sermon VIII (Revelation 2:5), p. 148.

<sup>152</sup>Sermon XVI (Ephesians 6:15-17), p. 242.

<sup>153</sup>Sermon III (Revelation 2:2-3), p. 88; *Popery*, p. 16.

with Christ, or "have closed in covenant with Christ," to partake of the Lord's Supper.<sup>154</sup>

The covenant of Christ is necessary because no one who has come out of the loins of Adam, except Christ, has offered the perfect obedience required by the Law in thought, word, and deed. Hence "no man is able to get life eternal by keeping the Law."<sup>155</sup> The commandments were given to reveal our own inadequacy and drive us to seek life eternal in Christ Jesus.<sup>156</sup> Concerning this purpose of the Law, Welch explains that

the law lets thee see, 1st Thy sins. 2ndly, The Curse of God above thy head for thy sins. 3rdly, A necessity of keeping the commandments thereof. 4thly, an impossibility in thyself to keep them. 5thly, and lastly, it whips thee and drives thee to the gospel, there to seek a mediator.<sup>157</sup>

Thus both the Law and the Gospel are absolutely essential for the Christian faith,<sup>158</sup> for the Law prepares a man by breaking the clods of his heart so that he is ready to receive the word of the Gospel.<sup>159</sup> The Law also has its place in the life of the Christian because the Gospel sends us back again to the Law to keep the commandments of the Son of God. The penitent sinner then

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<sup>154</sup>"Preface," p. 549.

<sup>155</sup>*Popery*, pp. 97 and 99. And, therefore, any belief in supererogation arises from an ignorance of the perfection of God's Law, our inability to perform it, and the "unsearchable love and kindness of God, which has obliged us to no duties then ever we are able to do." *Ibid.*, p. 253.

<sup>156</sup>*Ibid.*, pp. 98-99.

<sup>157</sup>Sermon VII (Revelation 2:5), p. 142.

<sup>158</sup>Sermon XXXVIII (I Peter 2:9), p. 435.

<sup>159</sup>Sermon VII (Revelation 2:5), p. 142.

must run continually "from the law to the gospel and from the gospel to the law again," all the days of his life.<sup>160</sup> Although both Law and Gospel are necessary it is the Gospel which "is the principal mean that God uses to convert men" because it points to Christ, shows us what He has done for us, and makes us partakers of His divine nature.<sup>161</sup>

Welch insists that there are both evangelical and legal terrors,<sup>162</sup> but those of the former are far more severe. When Adam sinned against the first light of creation he had a regress to the second light which was to come, but the man that sins against the second has no other light to which he can have regress.<sup>163</sup> Hence it is stated that

when the law wounds a man, he looks to the gospel and a Saviour; he therefore has a Mediator and a blood to run to. But when the gospel wounds one, and when a man tramples under foot the blood of Jesus, then he knows not where to run to.

Consequently, there is no repentance for the sinner who tramples under foot the blood of Jesus and the Spirit of grace, sinning wittingly against the light of the known truth revealed to his conscience.<sup>164,165</sup>

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<sup>160</sup> Sermon VII (Revelation 2:5), pp. 143-144.

<sup>161</sup> Sermon XV (Ephesians 6:14-16), pp. 236-238.

<sup>162</sup> Sermon IV (Revelation 2:5), p. 108.

<sup>163</sup> Sermon XLV (John 3:18), p. 494.

<sup>164</sup> Sermon IV (Revelation 2:5), p. 108.

<sup>165</sup> Concerning man, sin, and judgment Welch teaches that (1) man was responsible for his own sin (*Popery*, p. 27), (2) all mankind is affected by Adam's sin (Sermon XXXIII [Luke 1:74-75], p. 403), (3) sin can only be seen for what it is when compared to God's glory, majesty and all sufficiency (*Popery*, p. 147; Sermon III [Revelation 2:2-3], p. 84), and the greatness of Christ's sufferings under the wrath of God for our sake (Sermon XXVII [I Thes-

THE WORK OF CHRIST

But if judgment is great for Welch, the work of Christ is far greater. He has taken upon Himself our nature to fulfil the Law because we could not perform what it requires.<sup>166</sup> Only Christ has obeyed the first commandment fully<sup>167</sup> and done more than the Law requires (supererogation) by dying for His enemies.<sup>168</sup> But in Welch's treatment of Christ's work, it is His humanity which is all important. The Gospel points us to the man Christ Jesus, in whom the Father is well pleased and by whom His anger is pacified.<sup>169</sup> And we are freed from the condemnation of sin and death "because Christ the Son

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salonians 2:18], p. 432), (4) man is dead in sin, unable to understand the things of God, cannot please God, and cannot help himself (Craford, p. 2; *Popery*, p. 95), (5) man is not free because he is dead in sin (Sermon IX [Revelation 2:5], p. 168), (6) sin brings dreadful judgment (Sermon IV [Revelation 2:5], pp. 105-107; Sermon XLI [Isaiah 42:3], p. 460; Sermon XXXVII [I Thessalonians 2:18], p. 432), (7) Christ is seeking the lost and inviting them to come to Himself (Sermon I [Revelation 20:11], p. 53; Sermon VII [Revelation 2:5], p. 126), (8) Because of the greatness of Christ's sacrifice, man is not condemned because of the magnitude of his sins, but for his contempt of the cleansing blood of Christ (Sermon I [Revelation 20:12], pp. 59-60; Sermon XL [John 5:24 and 6:39], p. 451), (9) all men will stand before God "mother-naked" and all sins will be exposed before the consciences of men (Sermon I [Revelation 20:11], pp. 45, 51, 56, 57), (10) the child of God will also see his sins on the day of judgment, but as covered by the mantle of Christ's blood (Sermon II [Revelation 20:12], pp. 76-77), and (11) the truth of eternal judgment is one of the fundamental points of Christian doctrine and should be held near to the heart of the believer (Sermon II [Revelation 20:12], p. 66).

<sup>166</sup> *Popery*, pp. 97-98.

<sup>167</sup> Sermon XXXI (Exodus 20:4-6), p. 382.

<sup>168</sup> *Popery*, p. 249.

<sup>169</sup> Sermon XXIV (Isaiah 42:1; Matthew 9:4), p. 334.

of God, in the similitude of sinful flesh, was condemned for sin in the flesh."<sup>170</sup> Welch explains concerning Christ, that

he would come down from heaven, and he would take a spouse from amongst the children of men, and he would not take the seed of angels, but chose rather the seed of Abraham, and of the drowned race of mankind that was left in Adam, and being his native enemies, he would make them his friends, and reconcile them to God the Father, and that he might satisfy the Father's justice, he would lay down his life for her, whereby he would declare his unspeakable love to her.<sup>171</sup>

And He rose again from the dead and ascended into heaven to take possession in our name and remain as our Advocate until the day of His appearing.<sup>172</sup>

Thus we are fallen in Adam but risen in Christ,<sup>173</sup> and God is glorified by our being saved in His Son when we are lost in Adam.<sup>174</sup> But our position in Christ is far greater than was Adam's situation before he fell. Welch asserts:

Because there is no light comparable to this light that the Son of God brought with him from heaven; no, not that light of Adam in his integrity; the one was but the image of man, but the other is the image of the Lord, which as far surmounts this light of Adam, as the image of God surmounts the image of a natural man.<sup>175</sup>

Not only did Christ satisfy the requirements of the Law in our stead, but He was also obedient unto the

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<sup>170</sup>Sermon XLVII (Romans 8:1-3), p. 506.

<sup>171</sup>Sermon IV (Revelation 2:5), p. 95.

<sup>172</sup>Sermon III (Revelation 2:2-3), p. 94.

<sup>173</sup>Sermon XXXI (Exodus 20:4-6), p. 388.

<sup>174</sup>Sermon XXXIII (Luke 1:74-75), p. 400.

<sup>175</sup>Sermon XLV (John 3:18), p. 494. See also *Popery*, "Epistle Dedicatory," p. 8 and Sermon XXXIX (John 10:27-28), pp. 444-445.

death of the cross. He has died <sup>e</sup>~~one~~, satisfying for our sins, paying our debt, and shedding His blood to purchase our eternal redemption.<sup>176</sup> There on the cross He endured "the torments of Gods wrath and indignation for our sins," and satisfied the justice of God.<sup>177</sup> And "he suffered the pains of hell in his soul upon the cross, and lay under the bondage of death, and was held captive in the grave" for our sake.<sup>178</sup>

Christ's great sacrifice, which fulfilled all the sacrifices and offerings of the Old Testament,<sup>179</sup> was not offered up according to the priesthood of Aaron, but according to Melchizedeck.<sup>180</sup> And what Christ endured--His temptations, sweating blood in the garden, being humiliated, being nailed to the cross--was for us. He bore the curse which should have been upon us perpetually, was laid in the grave to sanctify the grave to us, and overcame death for us.<sup>181</sup> And not only is Christ our substitute but He is also our representative in that

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<sup>176</sup> *Popery*, pp. 159 and 387.

<sup>177</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 135.

<sup>178</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 254.

<sup>179</sup> *Popery*, pp. 134 and 169.

<sup>180</sup> Welch draws three comparisons between Christ and Melchizedeck: "First, that as Melchizedeck was both King and Priest, so was Christ. Next, as Melchizedeck was without father and mother, beginning and ending, the Scripture not mentioning of it, so was Christ. Thirdly, as Melchizedeck was greater than Aaron, and had a more excellent Priesthood then the Levitical Priesthood, so was Christ ." *Popery*, pp. 137-138.

<sup>181</sup> Sermon III (Revelation 2:2-3), p. 93.



before the tribunal of God, it is as though we had died and borne the curse ourselves, being obedient to the death of the cross when we believe on the Son and are joined with Him.<sup>182</sup>

Christ has perfected our redemption,<sup>183</sup> and comes willingly to us, giving us of Himself freely, so that what is His is ours--His blood for cleansing us, His perfection for supplying our imperfection, and His obedience for satisfying for our disobedience.<sup>184</sup> His blood and death constitute both "a sufficient ransom for our sins, and a sufficient satisfaction unto the justice of God."<sup>185</sup> By His sacrifice we are loosed and freed from our bondage,<sup>186</sup> given eternal life,<sup>187</sup> and by the power of His resurrection are given new birth and regeneration, as well as the Spirit which was bought from the Father by the mediation of Christ's blood.<sup>188</sup> Christ's work in our flesh also has accomplished a great triumph over Satan and spoiled him of all his weapons, leaving him only a "naked enemy."<sup>189</sup>

The blood of Christ is sufficient to cleanse the soul of the greatest sinner.<sup>190</sup> Though our sins be many

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<sup>182</sup>Sermon XXX (II Corinthians 5:14-15), p. 375.

<sup>183</sup>Sermon XLI (Isaiah 42:3), p. 454.

<sup>184</sup>Sermon VII (Revelation 2:5), p. 136.

<sup>185</sup>*Popery*, p. 387.

<sup>186</sup>Sermon XXXIII (Luke 1:74-75), p. 405.

<sup>187</sup>*Popery*, p. 242.

<sup>188</sup>Sermon VII (Revelation 2:5), p. 136.

<sup>189</sup>Sermon XI (Ephesians 6:10-21), pp. 189 and 194; Sermon XII (Ephesians 6:10-12), p. 208.

<sup>190</sup>Sermon XIV (Ephesians 6:10), pp. 227-228.

and great, the blood of Jesus is of still more magnitude, bringing life to the dead and pardon to the guilty.<sup>191</sup>

Indeed God cannot refuse us when we come before Him and seek remission in the blood of Jesus; He must and will hear the mediation of the Son by His Spirit.<sup>192</sup> And when our faith is in His blood we have the assurance that His blood will never quit speaking for us.<sup>193</sup>

Welch teaches that we have an even fuller participation in the work of Christ in that His death crucifies all our sins, buries them in the grave, and we see them no more. And not only do we die to sin in His death, but by His resurrection we are raised daily from death to life and made new creatures. And, furthermore, by virtue of His ascension, we are lifted up to heaven and our hearts are set where Christ is.<sup>194</sup>

But is the death of Christ intended for the sins of the whole world or only for those of the elect? On this point there appears to be a rather distinct ambiguity in the writings of Welch. On the one hand Christ is described as the Saviour of the world,<sup>195</sup> and it is asserted that "the death of Christ is a sufficient ransom and satisfaction for all the sins of the world."<sup>196</sup> But

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<sup>191</sup>Sermon XV (Ephesians 6:14-16), p. 238.

<sup>192</sup>Sermon XVIII (Ephesians 6:18), pp. 264 and 269.

<sup>193</sup>Sermon XXXVI (II Corinthians 4:3-4), p. 424.

<sup>194</sup>Sermon XXVIII (Galatians 2:20), p. 360.

<sup>195</sup>Sermon XLI (Isaiah 42:3), p. 454.

on the other hand, Christ is said to have suffered "the terrors of the wrath of God, which was due to the sins of the elect,"<sup>197</sup> and to have carried "all the sins of the elect on His back."<sup>198</sup>

### SOTERIOLOGY

Welch consistently gives all the glory for the accomplishing and actualizing of man's redemption to God. The whole hope of our salvation is placed "in the only mercy of God through Jesus Christ,"<sup>199</sup> and "the only fountain and efficient cause of our salvation" is seen as God's free love and grace.<sup>200</sup> God has been moved to love us out of His own unchangeable love,<sup>201</sup> and therefore all of His workings with us--in choosing us, redeeming us, calling us, justifying us, sanctifying us, and glorifying us--are of grace and not because of any respect paid to the fewness or multitude of our sins.<sup>202</sup> Concerning this gracious working of God Welch declares to his listeners that God will

take thee up in his arms, and put thee in the gates of that New Jerusalem, where thou shalt not need the light of the son or the moon to shine upon thee, and thou shalt tramp upon the golden streets of the city of the living God, where there shall be nothing

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<sup>196</sup> *Popery*, p. 159.

<sup>197</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 386.

<sup>198</sup> Sermon XIV (Ephesians 6:10), p. 227.

<sup>199</sup> *Popery*, p. 96.

<sup>200</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 387.

<sup>201</sup> Sermon XXXIX (John 10:27-28), p. 446.

<sup>202</sup> Sermon XX (I John 4:7-8), p. 302.

but joy, and eternity of joy to thee, when others shall endure eternity of pain that have not sinned half so much as thou hast sinned; and thou shalt step into heaven, suppose thou wert a sinner above all sinners.<sup>203</sup>

Welch seems at times to be almost overcome by the "endless, infinite, and bottomless compassion of God" towards him, especially when he sees his own sinfulness and unworthiness.<sup>204</sup> He proclaims to his hearers:

Thou art not only loved of God, chosen to eternal life, redeemed by the blood of Jesus Christ, and ordained to eternal glory, but also thou has this privilege, that thou mayst know it is so, and this is more than all the world is worth, that eating or drinking, wakening or sleeping, going or sitting, or whatever thou be'st doing, thou mayst know assuredly, that thou mayst say freely, I am beloved, I am chosen to eternal life, I am redeemed by the blood of Christ, called, justified, and shall be glorified.<sup>205</sup>

God's merciful workings in us are performed through the person of the Holy Spirit. It is this Spirit who prepares the heart by bringing it to a sense of its misery that one may seek mercy, and He it is that works that living faith which gives the full assurance of salvation.<sup>206</sup> But the Spirit never works independently of the Father and Christ the Son. Rather, He leads us to the man Christ Jesus made flesh of the woman, subject to our infirmities, without sin, crucified, dead, buried, risen and ascended into Heaven. And the Spirit leads us in through Heaven to the love of the Father, which is the fountain of our salvation, unto the unchangeable

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<sup>203</sup> Sermon III (Revelation 2:2-3), p. 92.

<sup>204</sup> Craford, p. 16.

<sup>205</sup> Sermon XXXVIII (I Peter 2:9), p. 440.

<sup>206</sup> *Popery*, pp. 402-403.

decree of our election, and unto that everlasting glory.<sup>207</sup>

Therefore Welch proclaims that the Spirit "will lead thee unto the blood, and to the Mediator, and to the throne of grace, that there thou mayst find grace and mercy in the time of need."<sup>208</sup> He renews our hearts and enables us to begin with joy that obedience of love to the love of Christ which is the delight of those so renewed.<sup>209</sup> And it is the Spirit who draws down fire from heaven into our hearts which melts it with the sense of that happy and sweet conjunction between Christ and our souls.<sup>210</sup>

It is also the Spirit who enables us to pray as we ought, since we in ourselves are incapable of prayer.<sup>211,212</sup>

Welch emphasizes that both God's gracious activity within us<sup>213</sup> and the graces brought by the blood of Christ are free, without any price or any condition required on our part.<sup>214</sup> In Christ we are loved freely and chosen,<sup>215</sup> all our sins are freely forgiven us,<sup>216</sup> and we are freely pardoned by the sweet love of God toward us in Him.<sup>217</sup>

<sup>207</sup> Sermon XLVII (Romans 8:1-3), p. 512.

<sup>208</sup> Sermon XLVIII (Romans 8:1-37), pp. 521-522.

<sup>209</sup> *Popery*, p. 101. <sup>210</sup> Sermon XIX (Ephesians 6:18), p. 287.

<sup>211</sup> Sermon XVIII (Ephesians 6:18), p. 260.

<sup>212</sup> However, Welch does state that in the working of our salvation there is a distinct glory given to each member of the Trinity. See Sermon XXVIII (Galatians 2:20), p. 366.

<sup>213</sup> Sermon III (Revelation 2:2-3), p. 84.

<sup>214</sup> Sermon XIX (Ephesians 6:18), p. 285.

<sup>215</sup> Sermon XXXIX (John 10:27-28), p. 447.

<sup>216</sup> Sermon XXIII (Psalm 42:1-3), p. 331.

<sup>217</sup> Sermon XXIV (Isaiah 42:1; Matthew 9:4), p. 338.

For Welch, as in the Reformers, salvation is not a thing in itself, but is embodied in Christ; He is our wisdom, redemption, justification, and sanctification.<sup>218</sup>

This relationship, in which the Person of Christ can never be separated from His benefits,<sup>219</sup> is seen in Welch's exhortation for his listeners to

take him humbled, take him glorified; take him with all his graces, take his righteousness to cover thee, his obedience to absolve thee, and his satisfaction to sanctify thee; and and then cry, pity, pity, pardon, pardon, cover me with thy blood.<sup>220</sup>

And not only is salvation embodied in Christ, but in Him alone.<sup>221</sup> Therefore, all of salvation centres in the man Christ Jesus, in whom we know the love of God and in whom the Father is well pleased.<sup>222</sup>

There are great benefits given by Christ to those in Him, the greatest of which is the adoption to sonship. We are made children of God, brothers of Jesus Christ, and co-heirs of the heritage of our elder brother;<sup>223</sup> hence, we can "pray and be homely with God" because He has become our Father through Christ.<sup>224</sup> Those in Christ are also made new creatures,<sup>225</sup> given cleansing

<sup>218</sup> Sermon XXXVIII (I Peter 2:9), p. 441.

<sup>219</sup> Sermon V (Revelation 2:5), p. 115.

<sup>220</sup> Sermon IX (Revelation 2:5), p. 172.

<sup>221</sup> "Life," p. 41 and Craford, p. 5.

<sup>222</sup> Sermon XXIV (Isaiah 42:1; Matthew 9:4), p. 334.

<sup>223</sup> Sermon VI (Revelation 2:5), p. 130 and Sermon XXXVIII (I Peter 2:9), p. 440.

<sup>224</sup> Sermon XLII (John 3:16-17), pp. 470-471.

<sup>225</sup> Sermon XXX (II Corinthians 5:14-15), p. 376; Craford, p. 14.

and forgiveness,<sup>226</sup> given peace in their consciences,<sup>227</sup> and freed from the wrath of God.<sup>228</sup> In Him there is "a great remission, a present justification, and a great absolution."<sup>229,230</sup> Indeed those in Christ are a chosen generation, a royal priesthood, and are crowned kings, set at liberty from the tyranny of the Law.<sup>231</sup>

But before any person can enter God's kingdom, there must be a thorough change or alteration in the heart, which is called regeneration, conversion, or the new birth.<sup>232</sup> But this change is performed by Christ when

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<sup>226</sup>"Life," pp. 23-24; Craford, p. 15; *Popery*, p. 220.

<sup>227</sup>Sermon VI (Revelation 2:5), p. 131; Sermon XLVII (Romans 8:1-3), pp. 507 and 514.

<sup>228</sup>Sermon I (Revelation 20:11), p. 54; Sermon XLVI (Philippians 3:11-12), p. 498; Sermon XLVIII (Romans 8:1-3), pp. 506-507. Welch states, "Now the justice of God cannot condemn twice for one fault, therefore the severity of God's justice cannot strike upon thee who art in Christ Jesus. Again, the severe justice of God cannot condemn him who has fulfilled the law; but thou art in Christ Jesus, and walkest not after the flesh, but after the Spirit, thou hast fulfilled the law. Therefore the severe justice of God cannot condemn thee who art in Christ Jesus. But how hast thou fulfilled the Law? I answer, That which Christ has done in the flesh is imputed unto thee who art justified by faith; but Christ in the flesh fulfilled the law: therefore the fulfilling of the law by Christ is imputed unto thee."

<sup>229</sup>Sermon XLIV (John 3:17), p. 485.

<sup>230</sup>Sermon XLII (John 3:16-17), p. 461. Welch explains, "There is a judgment and tribunal decreeted in thy soul, wherein there is a judge, a party, a decreet, and a process, and absolution made. The judge is Christ: the guilty rebel is thy own soul, wherein there is a judge, a plea, a decreet. The accuser is the law, the devil, and your wicked conscience, and the justice of God; thy dittay, a rebel from thy mother's womb, or from the beginning. Now faith is thy advocate: he makes answer, I grant all, but I have enough in Christ to answer you all; then upon this defence comes in the sentence, which is this, "He that believes in the Son shall never perish." The law and the gospel gives out the conclusion; "therefore, thou shalt never perish."

<sup>231</sup>Sermon XXXVIII (I Peter 2:9), p. 438.

<sup>232</sup>Sermon XXXIII (Luke 1:74-75), p. 339; *Popery*, pp. 90 and 95.



He is grasped by faith,<sup>233</sup> as an individual is "rugged out of nature" and the rotten stock of Adam and planted in Christ Jesus.<sup>234</sup> It is in this experience that one's sins are imputed to Christ and His righteousness is imputed to the sinner.<sup>235</sup> But Welch teaches that

there are two sorts of righteousness that every chosen child of God has, the one is imputed to them, And it is Christ's, and it is called "the righteousness of God." The other is within thee, and it is called the "righteousness of a good conscience, or sanctification." This double righteousness is called a breast-plate, because it keeps all the strokes of the enemy off the heart that it be not hurt.<sup>236</sup>

The Christian then is he that has been pulled by the Spirit of grace out of nature and planted in the true vine, the Lord Jesus.<sup>237</sup> He is no longer in himself, but in the Son;<sup>238</sup> Welch proclaims to his hearers, "Thou art his wife; yea, thou art more than a wife, for thou art his flesh and blood; and what is most of all, thou art his chief treasure."<sup>239</sup> Because the Christian is in Christ He hates sin and loves God,<sup>240</sup> and makes the law of God his delight, especially the commandments given from Mount Sinai.<sup>241</sup>

<sup>233</sup>Sermon XXIX (Matthew 26:40), p. 370.

<sup>234</sup>Sermon XLVIII (Romans 8:1-37), p. 519.

<sup>235</sup>*Poperly*, p. 264.

<sup>236</sup>Sermon XIV (Ephesians 6:10), p. 231.

<sup>237</sup>Sermon VI (Revelation 2:5), p. 134.

<sup>238</sup>Sermon XLVIII (Romans 8:1-37), p. 525.

<sup>239</sup>Sermon XXXVIII (I Peter 2:9), p. 440.

<sup>240</sup>Sermon V (Revelation 2:5), p. 117; Sermon XXII (Psalm 77:1-3), p. 323; Sermon XXIV (Isaiah 42:1; Matthew 9:4), p. 334.

<sup>241</sup>Welch often expounds on these commands, giving the true

Welch teaches that for those in Christ justification is accomplished in an instant, but that sanctification is wrought out by degrees.<sup>242</sup> We have great consolation in seeing that our justification is perfect in Christ, but in this life our sanctification is always imperfect.<sup>243</sup> This sanctification, which is always imperfect because of the dregs of the old man which remain in us,<sup>244</sup> Welch refers to as our "begun sanctification."<sup>245</sup> Because we sin daily we must daily be refreshed from Christ's cup<sup>246</sup> and struggle against the enemies of our souls.<sup>247</sup> And although sanctification is incomplete in this life, there is a progress and growth in that spiritual communion

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spirit behind them, after which those in Christ are to strive. But he emphasizes that our good works are not causes of merit, but "effects to testifie of our faith in the merit of Jesus Christ" (*Popery*, p. 245). He declares, "We acknowledge the necessity of good works, as the fruits of a living Faith; but not as the efficient, formal, or instrumental cause of our justification" (*ibid.*, p. 270).

<sup>242</sup>Sermon XLIV (John 3:17), pp. 485-486.

<sup>243</sup>Sermon XLVII (Romans 8:1-3), p. 502.

<sup>244</sup>*Popery*, p. 95.

<sup>245</sup>Sermon II (Revelation 20:12), p. 75.

<sup>246</sup>Sermon XXXIII (Luke 1:74-75), p. 399. Welch states that God "permits thee to fall, that thou mayest see thy sanctification will not lead thee to heaven, for it is not perfect: but it is the blood of Christ only that must lead thee to heaven, and thou must step upon his back, or else thou wilt never get there." Sermon III (Revelation 2:2-3), p. 81.

<sup>247</sup>Sermon XI (Ephesians 6:10-12), pp. 183,185,189-191. The three great enemies of the soul are Satan, our own inborn corruption, and the riches and pleasures of this world. Sermon XIV (Ephesians 6:10), p. 225 and Sermon XIX (Ephesians 6:18), p. 274.

between Christ and His members,<sup>248</sup> because they are forced to reach from their miserable state to Him and to feed on Him daily.<sup>249</sup> Though the Christian's warfare may be difficult, the victory is certain and sure because the battle itself, the armour, the power, and the glory are all the Lord's, and He will not let him lose.<sup>250</sup> But because the enemy is so great, his temptations can be resisted only if we are joined with Christ our Head.<sup>251</sup> And it is through this mighty power of our Lord and Captain Christ Jesus that we can overcome the enemy, for in Christ we have dwelling in us the God of gods.<sup>252</sup>

Welch teaches unequivocally that those brought into Christ and clothed with His righteousness can never perish. In fact, he proclaims to his listeners, "Yea, I say to thee, ere thou wert damned, the Lord had rather come and die again; which is not possible."<sup>253</sup> The believer is as sure that he will never perish as are the very angels in heaven.<sup>254</sup> He explains that once one is united with Christ, pulled from out of nature and planted in grace, he becomes a member of Christ's body, never to be plucked from Him again.<sup>255</sup> The conjunction between

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<sup>248</sup> *Popery*, p. 346.

<sup>249</sup> Sermon XXXV (Luke 1:74-75 and others), p. 419.

<sup>250</sup> Sermon XI (Ephesians 6:10-21), p.198.

<sup>251</sup> Sermon XII (Ephesians 6:10-12), p. 207 and Sermon XIV (Ephesians 6:10), pp. 226-227.

<sup>252</sup> Sermon XII (Ephesians 6:10-12), pp. 207-209.

<sup>253</sup> Sermon XVI (Ephesians 6:15-17), p. 245.

<sup>254</sup> Sermon IV (Revelation 2:5), p. 100.

<sup>255</sup> Sermon XXI (II Corinthians 7:5; Psalm 88:1), p. 305.

ourselves and Christ is inseparable,<sup>256</sup> for Welch insists:

I look to the blood of God, his humiliation, his glorification; therefore it concludes no more can I be rugged from Christ than he can be from my flesh and blood; no more can I go to hell than Christ can go to hell; and no more can I be vanished from heaven, than Christ can be rugged out of heaven.<sup>257</sup>

Since those in Christ can never perish they should be fully assured of their standing before God; they should not doubt as to whether or not Christ is their Saviour.<sup>258</sup> There is no reason to doubt because the Scripture sets down the infallible marks by which we may know that God has loved us in His Son Christ Jesus from before the beginning.<sup>259</sup> We should know that we are in Christ Jesus because we perceive that where we were blind, we see, we live where we were dead, and we are cleansed where we were lepers.<sup>260</sup> Those who lament for sin, thirst to be reconciled to God, long for the day of salvation, and hope above hope, resting upon the promises, are most certainly in the covenant of grace.<sup>261</sup> And those who feel the intense struggle within them between the flesh and the Spirit are most surely children of God.<sup>262</sup> Welch assures those who hunger and thirst for Christ and His righteousness,<sup>263</sup> feel their own incredulity

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<sup>256</sup> Sermon XXXIX (John 10:27-28), pp. 446-447.

<sup>257</sup> Sermon XLII (John 3:16-17), p. 466.

<sup>258</sup> Sermon XXXIV (Luke 1:74-75), p. 408.

<sup>259</sup> Sermon XI (Ephesians 6:10-21), p. 186.

<sup>260</sup> Sermon XXIV (Isaiah 42:1; Matthew 9:4), p. 335.

<sup>261</sup> Sermon XXII (Psalm 77:1-3), p. 316.

<sup>262</sup> Sermon XI (Ephesians 6:10-21), p. 190.

<sup>263</sup> Sermon XXIV (Isaiah 42:1; Matthew 9:4), p. 338.

and blindness, and feel their hardness of heart and bondage, that they are in the covenant of grace and within the compass of the love of God.<sup>264</sup> The child of God is led into this assurance by the Holy Spirit,<sup>265</sup> who ascribes and seals to him the full certainty of his salvation.<sup>266</sup>

### FAITH AND REPENTANCE

For the salvation of the individual to be actualized there must be personal faith whereby one believes that Christ died for him and applies the work of Christ to His own soul.<sup>267</sup> In order for faith to be obtained four things are necessary:

- (1) A distinct knowledge of one's own "in-born corruption and hopelessness before God by nature."
- (2) A knowledge of the remedy which is only in the blood of Christ.
- (3) A knowledge "that there is no way to salvation but by believing in the only-begotten Son of God."
- (4) A knowledge "that thou must appropriate him to thyself, or else He will do thee no good."<sup>268</sup>

But it is not altogether clear whether Welch regards faith as union with Christ or whether it is by faith that we receive such benefits as union with Christ. He states that

the benefit that faith gets, in a word, it is salvation. I know it gets more benefits before it will plant thee in Christ, and make thee one with him; it will make thee flesh of his flesh,

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<sup>264</sup> Sermon XXII (Psalm 77:1-3), p. 318.

<sup>265</sup> Sermon XLVIII (Romans 8:1-37), p. 519.

<sup>266</sup> Sermon VII (Revelation 2:5), p. 137.

<sup>267</sup> Sermon XXVIII (Galatians 2:20), p. 362.

<sup>268</sup> Sermon XLII (John 3:16-17), pp. 471-472.

and bone of his bone; it will make thee sit in heaven with him; it will crucify thee with Christ; it will justify thee in Christ; it will get thee remission in his blood; and it will cleanse thy heart.<sup>269</sup>

True faith lays hold on Christ,<sup>270</sup> grasps Him as a hand, eats Him as a mouth, and digests Him as a stomach.<sup>271</sup> It nails us to the cross with Christ, lays us in the grave with Him, raises us from the dead with Him, and sets our hearts in heaven with Him.<sup>272</sup> Because faith grasps Christ Welch can speak of it as justifying<sup>273</sup> and giving eternal life.<sup>274</sup> However Welch asserts that the virtue of faith is not from itself, but from the power of Him unto which faith looks. It is merely the gold ring which contains within it the precious stone which is the blood of Christ Jesus.<sup>275</sup> Therefore, faith is the instrument which lays hold on the promises of God and the righteous-

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<sup>269</sup> Sermon XLIII (John 3:16-17), p. 474.

<sup>270</sup> Sermon XLII (John 3:16-17), p. 467.

<sup>271</sup> Sermon III (Revelation 2:2-3), p. 80.

<sup>272</sup> Sermon XLII (John 3:16-17), p. 468.

<sup>273</sup> Sermon XLII (John 3:16-17), p. 470.

<sup>274</sup> Sermon XLIV (John 3:17), p. 483.

<sup>275</sup> Sermon XVI (Ephesians 6:15-17), p. 243. He states, "It is not the hand that puts the meat in thy mouth that feeds thee, but it is the meat itself; and it is not the hands that put on thy clothes that clothe thee, but it is the clothes; nor it is not the hand that applies the salve to the wound that heals the wound, but it is the salve itself. So it is not thy faith that feeds thy soul; or clothes it, or makes thy sick soul whole; but it is Jesus Christ; the object of thy faith, who makes thee whole, and feeds and cleeds thee." Sermon XXVIII (Galatians 2:20), p. 362.

ness of Christ.<sup>276,277</sup>

Welch also strongly insists on the need for repentance, which is the gift of God,<sup>278</sup> containing a godly sorrow which leads a man to life.<sup>279</sup> True repentance causes one to come in faith and lay hold on Christ the Mediator and apply the blood of the Son of God as a sweet plaster to the soul that is deadly wounded.<sup>280</sup> And repentance is normally placed after conversion,<sup>281</sup> because Welch sees true godly sorrow for sin as arising out of knowledge that one has displeased so dear and so loving a Father, not out of a fear of gaining hell and losing heaven.<sup>282</sup>

True repentance contains within it two parts-- mortification of the old man and vivification of the new

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<sup>276</sup> *Popery*, pp. 264-265.

<sup>277</sup> Although we are saved by faith, not works, true faith is a living faith which "is never without the fruits of good works, no more than fire is without heat." *Popery*, p. 264.

<sup>278</sup> Sermon VII (Revelation 2:5), p. 137 and Sermon VIII (Revelation 2:5), p. 154.

<sup>279</sup> Sermon IV (Revelation 2:5), p. 109. He explains, "Repentance is a work of grace, turning a man or woman from all their sins unto God; which arises partly from an apprehension of the necessity of a compearing before the tribunal of God, and partly rising of sorrow breeding in the heart, because God is offended, and bringing forth fruits worthy of amendment of life. Now I call it a work of grace, because it proceeds from the free grace of God, and no man can turn to God till he gets grace first to see his sins, and then the deserved wrath of God hanging above his head for sin." Sermon V (Revelation 2:5), p. 116.

<sup>280</sup> Sermon V (Revelation 2:5), p. 114.

<sup>281</sup> Sermon VI (Revelation 2:5), pp. 130-131.

<sup>282</sup> Sermon IV (Revelation 2:5), p. 109. Cf. Sermon VIII (Revelation 2:5), p. 149.



man. It enables us to see Christ sweating in the garden as we must sweat under our sins, and it raises our soul from death to life. Repentance both crucifies the old man and quickens the new; it crucifies the world to us and us to the world, making our conversation to be in heaven.<sup>283</sup>

It slaughters sin in us "for it mortifies and slays the very corruption of our flesh; it cuts the throat of sin."<sup>284</sup>

Welch also insists that Christ and one's sins will not both be present at the Lord's Table together. If one loves Christ, he must separate himself from his sin and all idols, thus proving his love for Christ.<sup>285</sup>

But repentance is not only for those who have never turned to God and been brought into the covenant of grace; it is also for the child of God, for he needs to renew his repentance daily because his sins stand him in the hazard of losing the favour of God, unless he repents.<sup>286</sup>

Every Christian should therefore labour to have faith and repentance,<sup>287</sup> and must daily renew his faith and daily feed on Christ,<sup>288</sup> realizing that his

<sup>283</sup>Sermon VIII (Revelation 2:5), pp. 155-156.

<sup>284</sup>Sermon IV (Revelation 2:5), pp. 100-101.

<sup>285</sup>"Preface," pp. 543-544. But Welch proclaims that "if the true love of God be truly felt in thy heart, Christ will be so sweet to thy soul, that thou wouldst cast away ten thousand worlds, and all the pleasures and glory thereof, that thou mayest entertain the presence of the Lord in thy heart, and will quit all sin, that God may dwell in thy soul." Sermon V (Revelation 2:5), pp. 118-119.

<sup>286</sup>Sermon VII (Revelation 2:5), p. 141.

<sup>287</sup>Sermon XXVI (Hebrews 11:1), p. 346.

<sup>288</sup>Sermon XXXVI (II Corinthians 4:3-4), p. 425.

repentance is never perfect in this life and is not to be ended because his sanctification is incomplete until his salvation is consummated.<sup>289</sup>

Along with this stress on faith and repentance are Welch's exhortations which encompass many human responsibilities. The primary exhortation which Welch gives is for men and women to come to Christ, to look through the consuming fire of God's wrath to a Saviour and Mediator, whose blood can quench the fire.<sup>290</sup> We are to run to the throne of grace, beg mercy for Christ's sake, and even take Christ with us as the Son of God and our brother, made in our flesh.<sup>291</sup> We are not just to come once to God, but often to Him and to the Mediator and the blood of His covenant.<sup>292</sup> Especially when we have failed in our duties toward God we are to run to the Mediator to be cleansed in His blood and covered with His own righteousness.<sup>293</sup>

And not only are we to take Christ into the arms of our souls and feed on His flesh and blood;<sup>294</sup> we are also to hold our eyes upon God and on the Mediator, Jesus Christ.<sup>295</sup> Christ is to be brought into the

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<sup>289</sup>Sermon VIII (Revelation 2:5), p. 133.

<sup>290</sup>Sermon XXI (II Corinthians 5:7; Psalm 88:1), p. 309.

<sup>291</sup>Sermon IX (Revelation 2:5), p. 172.

<sup>292</sup>Sermon XLVIII (Romans 8:1-37), p. 528.

<sup>293</sup>Sermon XVII (Ephesians 6:18), p. 256.

<sup>294</sup>Sermon I (Revelation 2:5), pp. 60-61.

<sup>295</sup>Sermon XLVII (Romans 8:1-3), p. 507.

chambers of our hearts that He may crucify our sins, bury them in the grave with Himself, raise us up with Him, and may set us in these heavenly places in Him.<sup>296</sup>

We are also instructed to claim the promises of God and claim a right and title to Christ.<sup>297</sup> And we are to use the means appointed for renewing the spiritual life, including prayer, meditation, hearing the Word, Christian fellowship, and communion with the Lord by participation in the sacrament.<sup>298</sup> We are to put on and wear daily the whole armour of God with its glorious provisions for maintaining the spiritual life.<sup>299</sup> Welch, furthermore, insists that we are to try ourselves as to whether or not we are true members of Christ, not by our present state, but according to whether or not we have His life in us.<sup>300</sup> There is also the need for confession of our past sins and continual watching lest we be devoured by Satan.<sup>301</sup> The final human responsibility stressed by Welch is that of prayer; we are to pray as forlorn sons and daughters of a merciful Father in the name of the Mediator, believing His promise to hear and

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<sup>296</sup> *Popery*, "Christian Reader," p. 12.

<sup>297</sup> Sermon XXIII (Psalm 42:1-3), p. 330 and Sermon XXXVI (II Corinthians 4:3-4), p. 421.

<sup>298</sup> Sermon III (Revelation 2:2-3), p. 94.

<sup>299</sup> Sermon XXXIII (Luke 1:74-75), p. 401.

<sup>300</sup> Sermon XX (I John 4:7-8), p. 299.

<sup>301</sup> Sermon XXXII (Exodus 20:4-6; Deuteronomy 12:18), pp. 392-393.

answer our requests.<sup>302</sup> Welch sees the obedience to prayer offered by the creature as the foremost honour he can pay to His Creator because in prayer he confesses in singleness of heart the all-sufficiency of God and that He is good, gracious, and merciful, and therefore, His creature will wait upon His grace and mercy.<sup>303</sup>

#### THE CHURCH

Welch exhorts his listeners not to forget "the "poor church of God" but to care for the other members of the body of Christ.<sup>304</sup> And concerning the importance of the Church he states:

As for the true Church, unto whom we should joyn our selves I answer: We can have no salvation unless we joyn our selves first to the Catholick Church, that is, unto Jesus and his members by a spiritual communion, without the which there is no salvation. Next unto some particular visible Church, by the outward communion of the Word and Sacraments, etc. if we know it, and possibly can joyn our selves unto it . . . .<sup>305</sup>

The true Catholic Church which comprehends all the elect is always invisible because the greater part is in heaven and because the senses of men cannot discern who are the true members of Christ and the workings of grace within them.<sup>306</sup> This Church which existed even in

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<sup>302</sup> Sermon XVIII (Ephesians 6:18), p. 272. He suggests that prayer would be much easier if we knew how much God loves us. Sermon XLVIII (Romans 8:1-37), p. 528.

<sup>303</sup> Sermon XVIII (Ephesians 6:18), pp. 264-267.

<sup>304</sup> Sermon XLVIII (Romans 8:1-37), p. 528.

<sup>305</sup> *Popery*, pp. 312-313.

<sup>306</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 304.

ancient Israel,<sup>307</sup> is built upon the immovable Rock the Lord Jesus.<sup>308</sup> Therefore, the promise has been made and will be fulfilled in each member--that the gates of hell will not prevail, that is, get the final victory, over any of them.<sup>309</sup> This Church in the end will be avenged of her enemies and will rule over the nations with a rod of iron, breaking the nations as potters' vessels.<sup>310</sup>

God has ordained both public and private means whereby the worship of God is to be kept in integrity, but the Church is primarily concerned with the public or ordinary means used in the worship of God, "as the hearing of the word, and receiving of the sacrament, as baptism and the Lord's Supper."<sup>311</sup> It is by these--the Word and the sacraments--that the glorious presence of God is experienced in the public congregation.<sup>312,313</sup>

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<sup>307</sup> Ibid., p. 64.

<sup>308</sup> Ibid., p. 21.

<sup>309</sup> Ibid.

<sup>310</sup> Sermon I (Revelation 20:11), p. 49.

<sup>311</sup> Sermon XXIX (Matthew 26:40), p. 371.

<sup>312</sup> Sermon XXXIII (Luke 1:74-75), p. 400.

<sup>313</sup> In his relationship to the state Welch appears to have had a submissive, loyal, and subservient attitude. He prays that the king may be rooted and grounded in Christ Jesus and addresses him with great dignity and respect (*Popery*, "Epistle Dedicatory," p. 19). But he insists that where the laws of the state contradict the Lordship of Christ, God must be obeyed and men disobeyed ("Preface," p. 538). Indeed, for Welch the liberty of Christ's kingdom is dearer than anything else ("Life," p. 30). And he cites the causes of his imprisonment and conviction as a traitor as being twofold: (1) that Christ is the Head of His Kirk, and (2) "that she is free in her government from all other jurisdiction except Christ's" (Ibid., pp. 26-27).

THE SACRAMENTS

As the Reformers Welch manifests a great love and appreciation for the sacraments which have been given by Christ to His Church.<sup>314</sup> Baptism is described as "a most effectual seal and pledge of our ingrafting in Christ Jesus and of the remission of our sins through His blood, and regeneration through His Spirit," so that either its neglect or contempt is damnable.<sup>315</sup> This sacrament is the pledge of the reality of God's love which should comfort and console us in troublesome times.<sup>316</sup> Welch explains to his listeners

I fear many of you as yet have not had great comfort in your baptism; because ye have not considered, that it is ordained of God to be a mean to strengthen and confirm you in the promises of salvation made to you in Christ, and sealed up to you by his blood, signified by the water in the sacrament of baptism.<sup>317</sup>

The Eucharist is not designed as a charm for man's infirmities, diseases and ills,<sup>318</sup> but as a feast

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<sup>314</sup> In defining a sacrament he stipulates (1) that "every Sacrament consists of an outward and visible sign, and of a spiritual thing signified by that sign; the whole sign hath a resemblance with the thing signified. The sign is ever earthly and the thing signified is heavenly as shal appear by all the rest of the sacraments, both of the Old and New Testament" (*Popery*, p. 113), (2) that it must have "its express warrant and institution from Jesus Christ in the Scripture, as Baptism hath, Matthew 28 and the Lord's Supper, Matthew 26," and (3) that "they must not only have a promise of grace, but a promise of remission of sins and sanctification: For they must be seals of that covenant which is common to all Christians, as Baptism and the Lord's Supper" (*Ibid.*, pp. 228-229).

<sup>315</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 87-88.

<sup>316</sup> "Preface," p. 547.

<sup>317</sup> Sermon XXIX (Matthew 26:40), p. 371.

<sup>318</sup> *Popery*, p. 213.

for the poor and needy.<sup>319</sup> In this sacrament we remember Christ's death and passion upon the cross, whereby He appeased the wrath of God for our sins, and we remember our duty to die to sin because of the greatness of our salvation wrought by Christ.<sup>320</sup> And He is not to be eaten physically in the Eucharistic feast, but spiritually. Welch explains that "when we believe in Christ, we eat Him; and when we come unto Him (which is only by faith) we drink Him."<sup>321</sup>

It is only the presence of God that gives life to the sacraments, for without His life-giving presence there is nothing but death in all our observances.<sup>322</sup> But Welch states that God gives His Son by His Holy Spirit to His people in the Word and in the sacraments,<sup>323</sup> which represent Christ sufficiently to us.<sup>324</sup> And not only do the Word and the Sacraments represent Christ, but also they outwardly apply Christ and His death to us;<sup>325</sup> that is, the Spirit of Christ and faith by the outward means of the Word and Sacraments is a sufficient means to apply Him to us.<sup>326</sup> It is in our baptism that

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<sup>319</sup>"Preface," p. 541.

<sup>320</sup>*Popery*, pp. 147-148.

<sup>321</sup>*Popery*, pp. 106-108.

<sup>322</sup>"Preface," p. 543.

<sup>323</sup>*Popery*, pp. 209-210.

<sup>324</sup>*Ibid.*, p. 163.

<sup>325</sup>*Ibid.*, p. 160.

<sup>326</sup>*Ibid.*, p. 166.



God has promised and bound Himself to be our God and forgive our sins, and we have bound ourselves to believe.<sup>327</sup> And in the Supper Christ--God and man, in His flesh and blood--and all His blessings are communicated spiritually,<sup>328</sup> and we are made one with Him. Welch explains:

In the Supper, according to Christ his institution, by giving, taking, eating, and drinking of the bread and wine by all the Disciples, whereby our bodily life is now nourished and strengthened, is not only signified and represented our spiritual growth in that spiritual communion with him, whereon our spiritual life depends: but also in the same, all the faithful doth truly by faith eat and drink spiritually his flesh and blood, whereby they are made one with himself, flesh of his flesh and bone of his bone, whereby they are strengthened in that spiritual life, and confirmed in the hope of that glory.<sup>329</sup>

But even with this immense stress on the importance of the sacraments, Welch still insists that the grace of God is not so bound to the sacraments that salvation cannot be had apart from them. He affirms that it is impious to think of God's free grace and salvation being bound to the instrument. Eternal life is not bound absolutely to Baptism because it is the Holy Spirit who regenerates to life.<sup>330</sup>

#### CRITICISMS OF THE ROMAN CATHOLIC CHURCH

Welch's harshest words are directed against the Roman Catholic Church of his day. He condemns the Roman Church not because it militates against one great truth--the Godhead of Christ, His manhood, His offices, His

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<sup>327</sup> Sermon XLI (Isaiah 42:3), p. 459.

<sup>328</sup> *Popery*, p. 155.

<sup>329</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 148.

<sup>330</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 88-89 and 92.

benefits, etc.--but against all of them.<sup>331</sup> He does make some harsh criticisms of the Roman Catholic in general, including the Pope, which is called the Anti-christ.<sup>332</sup> But his greatest criticisms are directed at the perversion of the sacraments, particularly in the Mass. He insists that the Roman doctrine of transubstantiation destroys the nature of all Sacraments,<sup>333</sup> and spoils people of the sweet pledge of their salvation and the communion intended because it is celebrated privately, and the cup is withheld from the laity.<sup>334</sup>

Welch argues that while the Sacrament was given to strengthen men's faith, the Roman priests make it into a sacrifice to save men's souls.<sup>335</sup> The Romanists trans-

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<sup>331</sup>*Popery*, "Epistle Dedicatory," p. 3.

<sup>332</sup>*Popery*, pp. 6, 343, 348, 359, 413.

<sup>333</sup>He carefully reasons with his Romanist opponent, "But your interpretation and doctrine destroys both the sign and the resemblance which they should have with the things signified in the Supper; for there is no outward sign there which is an earthly substance, but only accidents of color, and quantity, if your doctrine be true; and there is nothing there to resemble either our spiritual nourishment by the flesh and blood of Christ, or yet our spiritual fellowship one with another: unless you will say, that accidents feeds, and nourishes: the which if you will say, then to say no more to it but this, If you and your common Clergy who is so bold and strong in maintaining the monstrous Transubstantiation of yours against the truth of God, were fed with no better substance than accidents; then I say, you would have fainted long since in the defence of it. Seeing therefore your interpretation makes the Supper to be no Sacrament, and makes it unlike all other Sacraments therefore it must be false and erroneous." *Ibid.*, pp. 113-114.

<sup>334</sup>*Ibid.*, p. 405.

<sup>335</sup>*Ibid.*, p. 145.

form a Sacrament of praise into one in which the priest consumes all himself, a Sacrament intended to confirm us in our faith into a "propitiatory sacrifice of the Son of God" for the redemption of souls, a Sacrament commemorating the death of Christ into a real immolation and offering Him up again for both the living and the dead.<sup>336</sup> Thus the Roman priest commits horrible blasphemy in offering up a sacrifice for the salvation of the world, other than Christ's one sacrifice forever on the cross.<sup>337</sup>

Welch criticizes the Roman Church then for adding to Christ, as though His merits were not alone sufficient for our salvation, and this adding to Christ is horrible idolatry. It also spoils man of the righteousness and salvation offered freely in Christ.<sup>338</sup> Especially is man's salvation endangered by the Roman doctrine of transubstantiation because it destroys the truth of Christ's manhood by "making him to have infinite bodies, not made of the seed of the woman, but of bread and wine."<sup>339</sup> Hence Welch's criticism is that "they have abolished the humanity of Christ by their monstrous transubstantiation."<sup>340</sup>

The greatest evil in the Mass is that the place of Christ is taken away and others are put in His place.

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<sup>336</sup> Ibid., p. 184.

<sup>337</sup> Ibid., pp. 158 and 387.

<sup>338</sup> Ibid., pp. 387-388.

<sup>339</sup> Ibid., pp. 384-385.

<sup>340</sup> Ibid., p. 405.

Welch explains:

Now if any thing can be said to be blasphemy, certainly this must be blasphemy, to a Mass-priest, a sinful creature, to inter-ceed between God the Father and Christ his Son; to pray the Father that he may sanctify his Son and accept of him, as though he were not fully sanctified in himself, and were not the fountain of all holiness to others; and as though the Father were not well pleased in him already. . . Doth not he blaspheme horribly, who vaunts that in something that he doth, he is more acceptable to God, than Jesus Christ is?<sup>341</sup>

He condemns the Roman Church for injuring the manhood of Christ, all His offices, His benefits, "and all the means, inward and outward, of the knowing and applying of him."<sup>342</sup> The Romanists have spoiled Christ of His office of mediation, man of his salvation purchased by Christ, and God of His glory, and have set up other mediators and saviours beside Christ.<sup>343</sup>

In spoiling Christ of His mediation they rob Him of His offices as Prophet, Priest, and King. His prophetic office is spoiled because they have altered, added, and corrupted His Testament, confirmed by His death, and left in writing to instruct the Church, make her wise to salvation, and perfect her unto every good work.<sup>344</sup> They spoil Christ of His kingly office by destroying His spiritual government in the hearts of His own by the work of the Spirit.<sup>345</sup> And His priestly office is injured especially by the Roman Mass, "which

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<sup>341</sup> Ibid., pp. 204-205.

<sup>342</sup> *Popery*, "Epistle Dedicatory," p. 4.

<sup>343</sup> *Popery*, p. 389.

<sup>344</sup> Ibid., pp. 385-386.

<sup>345</sup> Ibid., pp. 402-404.

derogates from his death and passion."<sup>346</sup> They join others to His royal priesthood, spoiling Him of dignity, and man of salvation, as the priest pretends to sacrifice Christ daily. They spoil Him also of His continual intercession by joining Him with innumerable intercessors and mediators, seeking grace from angels and departed saints, which is the proper office only of Christ as our Great High Priest. Thus Christ is deprived of that glory and worship which is due to Him alone, and this glory is given to others by the Roman Catholic Church.<sup>347</sup> Concerning the Mass, Welch comments that

the prayer that is set down in the latter end of it, saying, "I pray thee, blessed Mary and all the hee Saints, and shee Saints of God, to pray to God, that I may have mercy": wherein are two horrible abuses: one, that he makes no mention of Jesus Christ our only Mediator, I Timothy 2:5, and desires him not to make intercession for him: Next, that he prays unto the Saints departed, and makes them Intercessors and Mediators, who neither knows our necessities, and the secrets of our hearts, neither is able to hear or help us, which wants all warrant out of the Word of God. . . . And seeing prayer is a honor only to God and Jesus Christ is our only Mediator and Intercessor; this prayer to saints departed is both idolatrous and injurious to Christ his intercession and mediation.<sup>348</sup>

#### SUMMARY

Even though Welch's heart was that of a pastor and his main concern seems to have been pastoral, it appears that in his thought there is at least a slight movement away from certain doctrines which were so strongly taught in the Reformation. There is also the beginning of a legal emphasis which was later to become the dominant

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<sup>346</sup> Ibid., p. 133.

<sup>347</sup> Ibid., pp. 387-389.

<sup>348</sup> Ibid., pp. 193-194.

theme in Scottish theology.

Although he stresses strongly the Person of Christ, it appears that Welch does not carry through completely with the radical implications of the Incarnation in that God's love is manifested to all men because Christ has assumed all human nature and stands in an ontological unity with the entire race. Welch seems to want to restrict Christ's work to the elect or those who respond to God's grace. Along with this lessened stress on the humanity of Christ is the doctrine of union with Christ which is beginning to become a product of faith, rather than the substance of faith itself.

And while it is Welch's intention to teach the free and unconditional grace of God, when faith is elevated to the instrumental level, man's response must necessarily play a dominant part in soteriology and in the question of assurance. Under Welch's system man's eyes are not so steadfastly placed on Christ, who has accomplished vicariously all that God requires for man's redemption, that there is an exclusion of inward looking or anthropocentricity.

Also Welch seems to see the mediation of Christ almost entirely as a remedy for sin. He appears not to see an epistemological need for a Mediator to stand between unfallen man and God and between redeemed man and God. It appears that because Christ is seen as the divinely-appointed remedy for sin, the legal and forensic aspects are stressed more heavily in Welch than the filial adoption to sonship which is ours in Christ.

These tendencies reveal what was at work not only in Welch's theology, but also in the theology of the Scottish Church during his time of ministry. And they help to explain what happened in Scottish theology between the Reformation and the Westminster Assembly as these very same weaknesses, left unchecked, developed into such a strong all-inclusive system which became for many years the theology of Scotland.



## CHAPTER IV

### ROBERT ROLLOCK

In the development of early Scottish theology it is probably true that no name represents more of a decisive turning-point than that of Robert Rollock<sup>1</sup> (1555?-1599).<sup>2</sup> Though his views were certainly not as extreme as those of the later Calvinists it is with his division of the covenant into works and grace that the beginnings of the system of Federal Calvinism can be detected.<sup>3</sup> And in his theological activity, as a Professor of Divinity, a Preacher, and an Expositor of the Scriptures,<sup>4</sup> he was in a position to influence the development of Scottish theology in a very substantial manner.

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<sup>1</sup>Sometimes spelled "Rollok" or "Rolloc" but "Rollock" in modern usage. Henry Charteris, "Narrative of the Life and Death of that Most Pious and Learned Gentleman, Mr. Robert Rolloc, of Scotland, Minister of the Gospel and Principal of the College of Edinburgh," Vol. I of *Select Works of Robert Rollock, Principal of the University of Edinburgh*, trans. and ed. by William M. Gunn (2 vols.; Edinburgh: Wodrow Society, 1844), p. LIX.

<sup>2</sup>T. F. Henderson, "Rollock, or Rollok, Robert," *Dictionary of National Biography*, 1897, XLIX, 171-172. Because of a change in the calendar in 1600 the date of his death is sometimes written 1598/9.

<sup>3</sup>Rollock is acknowledged to be the first theologian to speak of a covenant of works in Scotland.

<sup>4</sup>William M. Gunn, "Preface," Vol. I of *Select Works of Robert Rollock, Principal of the University of Edinburgh*, ed. by William M. Gunn (2 vols.; Edinburgh: Wodrow Society, 1844), p. XII (Hereafter designated as Gunn, "Preface," I). Walker p. 2.

THE MAN AND HIS CONTRIBUTIONS TO SCOTLAND

Rollock was of noble birth<sup>5</sup> and educated in classics at Stirling and in philosophy at St. Andrews under John Carr. Because of his reputation for the quality of his instruction and piety he was appointed professor at the latter institution,<sup>6</sup> where he served until he was appointed head of the newly founded college of James VI, afterwards known as the university of Edinburgh.<sup>7</sup> In addition to his administrative duties at Edinburgh he taught philosophy until he was appointed professor of theology, at which time he renounced philosophy and devoted himself entirely to the study of the Scriptures.<sup>8</sup> In this position, for a period of twenty years, he trained many of the best ministers of the day, such as John Welch, who went forth to demonstration the quality of instruction which they had received.<sup>9</sup>

While he was known neither as a brilliant nor a powerful man, he was considered sensible, capable,<sup>10</sup> candid, and remarkably humble.<sup>11</sup> He is also described as having been a lover of peace, who was patient under wrongs

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<sup>5</sup>T. F. Henderson, "Rollock," p. 171.

<sup>6</sup>Charteris, pp. LX-LXII.

<sup>7</sup>T. F. Henderson, "Rollock," pp. 171-172. In 1583 he was appointed sole regent of the new college and in 1586 "principal or first master."

<sup>8</sup>T. F. Henderson, "Rollock," pp. 171-172 and Charteris, p. LXII.

<sup>9</sup>Macleod, pp. 51-53.

<sup>10</sup>Walker, p. 3.

<sup>11</sup>Charteris, p. LXXIV.

and ready to forgive, a man of justice and moderation,<sup>12</sup> who was grave and prudent,<sup>13</sup> and one who was diligent in all which he undertook to perform.<sup>14</sup> He is also praised for the consistency of his life and his learning.<sup>15</sup> It is said that "he was of singular piety, holiness, and integrity of life, which commanded the unwilling admiration and praises even of the enemies of the truth."<sup>16</sup>

Although Rollock desired the quiet academic and pastoral setting, it is said that "he was dragged out to take a share in most public matters; and by his efforts and prudent management confusion was reduced to order."<sup>17</sup> In 1590 he was appointed assessor to the moderator of the General Assembly and a year later was named to a committee which held a conference with the king on affairs of the Kirk.<sup>18</sup> Rollock is sometimes accused of compromising the affairs of the Kirk before the king, but it seems that he stood between the king and the Kirk and caused the royal wrath to be assuaged which was bent on destroying what it

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<sup>12</sup>Ibid., p. LXXVI.

<sup>13</sup>Ibid., p. LXXXVIII.

<sup>14</sup>Henry Charteris and William Arthur, ["Epistle Dedicatory"] "To the Right Worshipful Their Most Loving friend in the Lord, Master William Scot, of Elie, Grace in This Life, and Everlasting Glory in the Life to Come," (to) "Lectures Upon the History of the Passion, Resurrection, and Ascension of our Lord Jesus Christ," Vol. II of *Select Works of Robert Rollock, Principal of the University of Edinburgh*, ed. by William M. Gunn (2 vols.; Edinburgh: Wodrow Society, 1844), p. 8 (Hereafter designated as "Charteris and Arthur").

<sup>15</sup>Ibid., p. 8.

<sup>16</sup>Charteris, LXXXVI.

<sup>17</sup>Ibid., p. LXXIV.

<sup>18</sup>T. F. Henderson, "Rollock," p. 172.

considered to be the rebellious will of the Edinburgh people.<sup>19</sup> Because of the king's respect for Rollock he was chosen moderator of the General Assembly at Dundee in 1597.<sup>20</sup> Calderwood claims that Rollock was too timorous in following the humours of the king but that he discovered his own weakness and later in 1595 voted that certain ministers should sit and vote in parliament as bishops.<sup>21</sup> And while it may be true that he did lack shrewdness in his dealings with matters of Church and state,<sup>22</sup> it is equally true that he attempted not to sacrifice principle for peace and so stain his conscience.<sup>23</sup> And at the imminent death of Rollock there was great grief in Scotland because

the Church was about to be deprived of a father, and the State of the pillar of its safety, and that no one would be left to quiet the tumults in the Church, to reconcile to an offended prince his subjects, or restore the Church to his favour.<sup>24</sup>

He was held in such high esteem and affection by those in Edinburgh that in 1596 he was asked to undertake the pastoral office in one of the charges in the city.<sup>25</sup> He became the minister in 1598 of what is now St. Giles' Cathedral and later moved to what is now known as Grey-

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<sup>19</sup>Charteris, p. LXXV.

<sup>20</sup>T. F. Henderson, "Rollock," p. 172.

<sup>21</sup>Calderwood, V, pp. 130, 650, 697; T. F. Henderson, "Rollock," p. 172.

<sup>22</sup>Gunn, "Preface," I, p. VI.

<sup>23</sup>Charteris, p. LXXIX.

<sup>24</sup>Ibid., pp. LXXVI-LXXVII.

<sup>25</sup>Charteris, pp. LXXVI and T. F. Henderson, "Rollock," p. 172.

friars.<sup>26</sup> In his work as a minister he was never idle, but was always reading, meditating, praying, comforting, preaching, and writing, that the kingdom of God might be enlarged.<sup>27</sup> He is said to have preached with such Spirit and power that the minds of his hearers were illuminated, and their affections stirred so extensively that even the learned acknowledged that new light was shed upon their minds and new affections were formed in their hearts.<sup>28</sup>

Rollock has been praised for his learning, ease of expression,<sup>29</sup> for his thorough research into controversial doctrines, and dialectic skill.<sup>30</sup> He was both a theologian and an expositor who was familiar with the intricate questions of the schoolmen<sup>31</sup> and who with his great learning successfully discharged the duties of professor and principal of the university.<sup>32</sup> He was a man who was most faithful in his calling,<sup>33</sup> and able to teach others also.<sup>34,35</sup>

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<sup>26</sup>T. F. Henderson, "Rollock," p. 172.

<sup>27</sup>And his life was a good definition of a true minister, a preacher of the Gospel, and a Bishop of Christ. Charteris and Arthur, p. 8.

<sup>28</sup>Charteris, pp. LXXI-LXXII.

<sup>29</sup>Charteris and Arthur, p. 8.

<sup>30</sup>Gunn, "Preface," I, p. XVII.

<sup>31</sup>Walker, p. 3.

<sup>32</sup>T. F. Henderson, "Rollock," p. 172.

<sup>33</sup>Charteris, p. LXXXVI.

<sup>34</sup>Macleod, p. 53.

<sup>35</sup>It is said that in his teaching he so combined severity

He is described by Macleod as "a competent divine who excelled in his gift of exposition,"<sup>36</sup> and by Walker as the first Scottish commentator of any note.<sup>37</sup> Though McCrie does not see Rollock's commentaries as distinguished for critical learning nor manifesting deep research, he characterizes them as being "perspicuous, succinct, and judicious."<sup>38</sup> But for Beza these commentaries were of immense value.<sup>39</sup> In addition to his commentaries he was also the author of numerous other Latin works. These works are sometimes considered to be rather commonplace and superficial,<sup>40</sup> though of the earliest species of this type of literature in Scotland.<sup>41</sup> Of special note is his *Treatise on Effectual Calling* (1597) which was widely read

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and mildness that his students were greatly impressed with the knowledge and fear of God (Charteris, pp. LXV-LXVI). It is also stated that his students would sometimes sob and sigh, even with tears, at the way in which he presented the thunders of divine wrath and the gentle promises of the Gospel. He is said to have been able to arouse warm feelings of affection in students who had been fiercely opposed to him and to have led them "voluntarily from error to the path of duty, not so much from fear as from love" (Ibid, p. LXX).

<sup>36</sup> Macleod, p. 51.

<sup>37</sup> Walker, p. 2.

<sup>38</sup> McCrie, II, p. 21 and Gunn, "Preface," I, p. XVI.

<sup>39</sup> For his specific comments, see Charteris, p. LXXIII.

<sup>40</sup> For a discussion of the strengths and weaknesses of Rollock's Latin, see William M. Gunn, "Preface," Vol. II of *Select Works of Robert Rollock, Principal of the University of Edinburgh*, ed. by William M. Gunn (2 vols.; Edinburgh: Wodrow Society, 1844), pp. XI-XIII (Hereafter designated as Gunn, "Preface," II).

<sup>41</sup> T. F. Henderson, "Rollock," p. 172. Henderson includes a comprehensive list of Rollock's works and the English translations which are available.

in Latin and English, and "stands as one of the earliest systematic discussions of the Covenants, anticipating the later developments of the 'Covenant Theology.'"<sup>42</sup> It embodies his entire system of divinity which was expressed in his academic lectures.<sup>43</sup>

In Rollock one finds a strongly academic frame of mind which was influenced by the philosophical structure of Andrew Melville at St. Andrews. In him is seen the beginning of an intellectualizing of faith through the combination of the teaching of Calvin with the new Aristotelian logic, which led to a new Scholasticism in Scottish theology.<sup>44</sup> His "Summary of Theology," included in his *Treatise on Effectual Calling*, follows almost the same order which was to be followed in the *Westminster Confession*.<sup>45</sup> In Rollock's writings there is found a struggle between the practical and his habits as a dialectician. Sometimes he can revel in pure dialectic and speculation, while at other times, such as in his sermons, he is wholly free from this method.<sup>46</sup> Thus there is in him the contrast between the preacher and the professor. In his preaching and expositions his attention is upon the Person and Work of Christ, but in his systematic work he is occupied with the rationalized scheme and drama of

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<sup>42</sup>McNeill, p. 307.

<sup>43</sup>McCrie, II, p. 421 and Gunn, "Preface," I, p. XVI.

<sup>44</sup>T. F. Torrance, "Baptism," p. 22.

<sup>45</sup>Gunn, "Preface," I, pp. XII-XIII.

<sup>46</sup>Ibid., p. XVIII.



salvation. And in him these two perspectives are held in very uneasy balance.<sup>47</sup>

### THEOLOGY PROPER

As a theologian Rollock understands that the systematizing of the various elements of Christian truth must be made according to Theological Science. And the order in which he places these elements and their inter-relationships is seen very clearly in his "Summary of Theology." This consideration of Rollock's doctrine of the Mediator attempts to follow Rollock's order and to demonstrate its significance in the unfolding of his theology.<sup>48</sup>

In a very orthodox fashion he teaches the doctrine of the Trinity,<sup>49</sup> with the complete equality of the three

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<sup>47</sup> T. F. Torrance, "Baptism," pp. 24-25.

<sup>48</sup> Robert Rollock, "A Treatise on Effectual Calling," trans. by Henry Holland, Vol. I of *Select Works of Robert Rollock, Principal of the University of Edinburgh*, ed. by William M. Gunn (2 vols.; Edinburgh: Wodrow Society, 1849), p. 23 (Hereafter designated as "Effectual Calling"). The "Summary" is in pp. 23-26 of "Effectual Calling." Rollock's overall theological outline also manifests the rigid distinction he draws between nature and grace or creation and grace.

<sup>49</sup> Robert Rollock, *Five and Twentie Lectures Upon the Last Sermon and Conference of our Lord Iesus Christ, With His Disciples Immediately Before His Passion: Contained in the Fourteenth, Fifteenth, and Sixteenth Chapters of the Gospel of Saint Iohn, As Also Upon That Most Excellent Prayer, Contained in the Seuenteenth Chap. of the Same Gospel* (Edinburgh: Andro Hart, 1619), (John 17:9-11) p. 216. (Hereafter designated as *Last Sermon*). It should be noted that because of some bad errors in pagination in the available copies of Rollock's works, some references to page numbers have been changed to designate what they should be rather than what they actually are.

Persons,<sup>50</sup> but with a separate glory assigned to each.<sup>51</sup> Because of the unity of the three Persons the love of the Father is seen as inseparable from the love of the Son, for there is but one love of the Father and the Son, so that whom the Son loves, the Father loves, and whom the Father loves, the Son loves.<sup>52</sup> Rollock also proclaims that the love of God is infinite,<sup>53</sup> inexpressible, and inexhaustible.<sup>54</sup> Above all else God delights in mercy,<sup>55</sup> and the love which He bears to us in Jesus Christ is the sweetest thing that ever was.<sup>56</sup>

It is because of this great mercy of God that He has

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<sup>50</sup>Ibid., (John 14:7-10) pp. 22-25.

<sup>51</sup>He explains, "The Father hath his glorie, the Sonne hath his glorie, and the holie Ghost hath his glorie: but wee glorifie the Father, as the Fountaine of all benefits, the Sonne as Mediatour, and the holie Spirite as our Sanctifier, and we giue them all one equall glorie amongst themselves, because they are equal in Glorie and Majestie." Ibid., (John 16:13-22) p. 146.

<sup>52</sup>Ibid., (John 14:21-26) pp. 61-62.

<sup>53</sup>Ibid., p. 61.

<sup>54</sup>Robert Rollock, "Certaine Sermons Upon Severall Places of the Epistles of Paul," Vol. I of *Select Works of Robert Rollock, Principal of the University of Edinburgh*, ed. by William M. Gunn (2 vols.; pp. 478-479 (Hereafter designated as "Epistles"). It should be noted that along with the sermons on the Epistles of Paul are placed several other sermons from various texts of Scripture.

<sup>55</sup>Robert Rollock, *An Exposition Upon Some Select Psalmes of David, Containing Great Store of Most Excellent and Comfortable Doctrine, and Instruction for All Those that (Under the Burthen of Sinne) Thirst for Comfort in Christ Iesus*, trans. by Charles Lumsdem (Edinburgh: Robert Waldegrae, 1600), (Psalm 3) p. 34 (Hereafter designated as *Psalms*).

<sup>56</sup>*Last Sermon*, (John 17:1) p. 177.

provided our redemption,<sup>57</sup> though He loved us before either our creation or fall into sin.<sup>58</sup> The grace of God is seen in the greatest possible way--a way which causes the angels of heaven to wonder<sup>59</sup>--in that "dedit homini Mediatorem Filium suum Iesum Christum."<sup>60</sup> The worthy Person and office of Christ the Mediator thus comes from a decree which is as old as God Himself, originating in His eternal good will and pleasure;<sup>61</sup> therefore, Christ's Incarnation is the first manner of our reconciliation.<sup>62</sup> Rollock states that God has "kythed" His love to us by sending His only begotten Son into the world to be a propitiation for our sins,<sup>63</sup> and this sending testifies of His Fatherly love to the world,<sup>64</sup> as a sure evidence of His singular love and mercy.<sup>65</sup>

Along with Rollock's emphasis on the love of God there is a substantial stress on the justice of God. He

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<sup>57</sup> Robert Rollock, *Lectures Upon the Epistle of Paul to the Colossians* (London: Felix Kyngston, 1603), (Colossians 1:20) p. 69 (Hereafter designated as *Colossians*). Rollock teaches that God above all else seeks to be glorified in His mercy. "Epistles," (I Timothy 1:14-16) pp. 557-558 and (Psalm 130:5-8) p. 476.

<sup>58</sup> *Last Sermon*, (John 17:25-26) p. 266.

<sup>59</sup> "Epistles," (I Timothy 1:12-14) p. 539.

<sup>60</sup> Robertvm Rollocvm, *Qvestiones et Responses Aliquot De Fodere Dei: Deque Sacramento Quod Foederie Dei Sigillum Est.* (Edinburgi: Excudebat Hericus. Charteris, 1596), p. Q 5-6. Since there is no pagination in this volume, pages are designated by means of printer's markings (Hereafter designated as *Foedere*).

<sup>61</sup> *Colossians*, (Colossians 1:20) p. 71.

<sup>62</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 83.

<sup>63</sup> *Last Sermon*, (John 14:21-26) p. 60.

<sup>64</sup> *Ibid.*, (John 17: 22-24) p. 250

<sup>65</sup> *Psalms*, (Psalm 51) pp. 249-250.

proclaims that the solid foundation of our everlasting life is the most just nature of the Judge.<sup>66</sup> But he also stipulates that there can be no mercy unless the justice of God is first satisfied.<sup>67</sup> However, it is not the terrors and threatenings that chiefly will move the sinner to come to God, but the consideration of His manifold and great mercies.<sup>68</sup> Therefore, Rollock advises that "all the pastors should teach and proclaim this mercy of God, and not speak of judgment, but when men regardeth not his mercy."<sup>69</sup>

#### MAN, SIN, AND JUDGMENT

Immediately after the doctrine of God and His creation Rollock places the creation and fall of man--hence the order is Theology Proper, Anthropology, and then Christology.<sup>70</sup> He sees man in a fourfold state in the Scriptures--(1) as innocent before his fall, (2) as corrupted after his fall, (3) as regenerated, and (4) as glorified.<sup>71</sup> Man was created good according to the decree of God after the image of the Creator and to the praise of His grace.<sup>72</sup> At creation man was given the right

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<sup>66</sup>Robert Rollock, *Lectures Upon the First and Second Epistles of Paul to the Thessalonians* (Edinburgh: Robert Charteris, 1606), (II Thessalonians 1:6-9) II, p. 17. The volume contains a different pagination for II Thessalonians, which is designated by "II" and a page number following (Hereafter designated as *Thessalonians*).

<sup>67</sup>"Epistles," (Psalm 130:1-4) p. 463.

<sup>68</sup>*Ibid.*, p. 466.

<sup>69</sup>*Ibid.*, (I Timothy 1:14-16) p. 558.

<sup>70</sup>"Effectual Calling," pp. 23-25.

<sup>71</sup>*Ibid.*, p. 256.

<sup>72</sup>*Ibid.*, pp. 256 and 267.

to live for ever,<sup>73</sup> so that Adam would have been justified had he continued in obedience to God.<sup>74</sup> But Adam fell from the dignity of his creation, losing the image of God within him<sup>75</sup> and estranging both himself and all his posterity from God,<sup>76</sup> so that the entire race, of its own doings, was brought from life to death.<sup>77,78</sup>

He stresses that by virtue of Adam's fall every man is born guilty by nature of that first apostacy and falling away from God, until this guilt is removed by the blood of a mediator.<sup>79</sup> No flesh, other than Christ Jesus, has ever had or will ever have that perfect obedience

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<sup>73</sup>"Epistles," (II Corinthians 5:5-8) p. 317.

<sup>74</sup>*Psalms*, (Psalm 32) p. 151.

<sup>75</sup>"Effectual Calling," p. 258.

<sup>76</sup>*Ibid.*, pp. 167-168.

<sup>77</sup>"Epistles," (II Corinthians 5:9-11) p. 330; *Colossians*, (Colossians 1:20) p. 69.

<sup>78</sup>Rollock has a full discussion on almost all possible points concerning the doctrine of sin, including how and why God permitted it ("Effectual Calling," pp. 25, 163-164; "Epistles," [II Corinthians 4:3-5], p. 395), the kinds of sin--original and actual ("Effectual Calling," pp. 173; "Epistles," [John 3:6] pp. 513-514), the completeness of sin's domination over man ("Effectual Calling," pp. 166, 168, 174, 261; *Last Sermon*, [John 17:4-5], p. 195; "Epistles," [Psalm 130:1-4] p. 465; *Psalms*, [Psalm 51] p. 345), man's total sinfulness in all his parts ("Epistles," [John 3:6] p. 518; "Effectual Calling," pp. 170, 171, 178; *Last Sermon*, [John 17:9-11] p. 221), the effect of sin upon the creation ("Epistles," [II Corinthians 5:16-18] p. 359), man's horrible condition before God ("Epistles," [John 3:6] p. 514; *Psalms*, [Psalm 51] p. 360; *Thessalonians*, [I Thessalonians 3:13-4:3] I, p. 152), his own inability to see his true condition ("Epistles," [Matthew 15:21-28] p. 483 and [Luke 7:37-50] p. 497; *Colossians*, [Colossians 1:1-6] p. 8), and man's bondage under sin ("Effectual Calling," pp. 256-257; "Epistles," [John 3:6] pp. 516-518).

<sup>79</sup>"Effectual Calling," p. 166.

which merits grace at the hands of God;<sup>80</sup> not even the holiest saints, the fathers, or the prophets could stand if God marked their iniquity.<sup>81</sup> However, Rollock maintains that it is not the natural substance of man's soul and body which estranges him from God, but his own sin.<sup>82</sup>

Sin is dreadful not so much because of what it has done to man, but because it is against God alone.<sup>83</sup> Every sin whatever is an offence against the infinite Majesty of God<sup>84</sup> and offends Him by offending His Law.<sup>85</sup> But the efficacy of man's sin is by reason of the Word and covenant which God made with Adam in his creation,<sup>86</sup> after which, when it was broken, the Creator was caused to repent that He had made man.<sup>87</sup>

Rollock warns of the great wrath of God which is stored up against sin.<sup>88</sup> Sin is to be feared because

<sup>80</sup> *Last Sermon*, (John 17:4-5) p. 195.

<sup>81</sup> "Epistles," (Psalm 130:1-4) p. 465.

<sup>82</sup> *Colossians*, (Colossians 1:21-22) p. 81. Here Rollock appears to depart from Calvin's insistence that even unfallen man was too far removed from God by his creaturely nature as not to require a Mediator.

<sup>83</sup> *Psalms*, (Psalm 51) p. 301.

<sup>84</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 291.

<sup>85</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 301.

<sup>86</sup> "Effectual Calling," p. 169.

<sup>87</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 175.

<sup>88</sup> Robert Rollock, "Lectures, Upon the History of the Passion, Resurrection, and Ascension of our Lord Jesus Christ," Vol. II of *Select Works of Robert Rollock, Principal of the University of Edinburgh*, ed. by William M. Gunn (2 vols.; Edinburgh: Wodrow Society, 1844), (Luke 24:37-41; John 20:20) pp. 501-502 and (Matthew 27:33-34; Mark 15:22-23; Luke 23:32; John 19:17) pp. 163 and 168 (Hereafter designated as "History").

every act committed against God leads to guiltiness and then the punishment of Hell and damnation.<sup>89</sup> Rollock elaborates:

the will of our God is in the selfe a thing so holie and inuiolable, that there was neuer person yet, that disobeyed that will, from ould *Adam* to this houre, if it were but in a litle thoght of the heart, let be a deed, in a motion of the soule, let it be an action, but that disobedience and transgression of that holie and inuiolable will of God was punished either in the persons self, or in the Mediator Iesus Christ. So inuiolable thing is the just will of God, that the disobedience to it cannot escape punishmet. God is not like man, impossible it is that thy disobedience to him, (if it were but in a motion of thy heart) should bee unpunished, either in thy bodie or soule, or else thou<sup>90</sup> must haue refuge to the Mediator, and it shall be punished in him.

He also warns of the horror of God's judgments, involving shame and confusion,<sup>91</sup> and unspeakable torment of soul and body.<sup>92</sup>

Of all sins man may repent and obtain pardon from the mercy of God,<sup>93</sup> but it is exceedingly dangerous to abuse His long-suffering.<sup>94</sup> Indeed the disgracing of the Gospel of Jesus Christ is the greatest sin that a man can commit,<sup>95</sup> and brings with it the heaviest punishment in the world.<sup>96</sup> This is the great sin which is called the

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<sup>89</sup>"Effectual Calling," p. 163; *Last Sermon*, (John 14:3-6) p. 18.

<sup>90</sup>*Thessalonians*, (I Thessalonians 4:6-8) I, p. 178.

<sup>91</sup>"History," (Matthew 27:31-32; Mark 15:16-21; Luke 23:24-31) pp. 154-155.

<sup>92</sup>*Ibid.*, (Matthew 27:35-38; Mark 15:24-28; Luke 23:33-38; John 19:18-22) p. 174.

<sup>93</sup>"Effectual Calling," pp. 180-182.

<sup>94</sup>*Psalms*, (Psalm 51) p. 367.

<sup>95</sup>*Thessalonians*, (II Thessalonians 3:7-10) II, p. 141.

<sup>96</sup>*Last Sermon*, (John 16:13-22) p. 143.



sin against the Holy Ghost and it has the property that when one so sins, he cannot repent; hence it is unpardonable. It is irremissible not because it exceeds the greatness of God's grace and mercy in Christ, but "because final impenitence is the reward and punishment by which God's just judgment is inflicted upon this sin."<sup>97,98</sup>

#### THE PERSON OF CHRIST

Immediately following the doctrine of sin Rollock places the subject of Christ the Mediator, in whom man's restoration is accomplished.<sup>99</sup> In his treatment of Christ's Person there is the greatest possible stress on the deity of Christ, who is confessed to be the Son of God,<sup>100</sup> who is equal with God,<sup>101</sup> and who is "coessential of the same nature with God, coequall, of the same dignity and majesty with the Father, and co eternall with him."<sup>102</sup> The distinctives of deity are also applied to Christ, such as

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<sup>97</sup>"Effectual Calling," p. 183.

<sup>98</sup>In explaining the difference between this and all other sins Rollock states, "For to expiate all other sins, the sacrifice of Christ one offered is sufficient for them all, and the virtue thereof extendeth itself to purge all sins for ever. But when a man hath once sinned against the Holy Ghost, and profaned that precious blood, the virtue thereof will never be effectual for the expiation of his sin. Wherefore he stands in need of some new sacrifice to purge his sin, which thing shall never be granted him. For if this were granted, then must Christ be crucified again, or some other sacrifice must be offered; but neither can Christ be crucified again, neither can any other sacrifice be offered for him. . . . Therefore this sin can never be expiate, because a new sacrifice can never be given for it: and this is the cause of the impossibility of the pardon of this sin." Ibid., pp. 190-192.

<sup>99</sup>Ibid., p. 24.

<sup>100</sup>"History," (John 20:27-31) p. 576.

<sup>101</sup>Colossians, (Colossians 2:1-3) p. 138.

<sup>102</sup>Thessalonians, (II Thessalonians 2:15-17) II, p. 109.

having no beginning, being the Creator, and possessing divine power.<sup>103</sup> In Him is the fulness of the Godhead, including all the glory, honour, and majesty of God.<sup>104</sup> Therefore all the sight that man has of the Father is in the person of the Son, who is the splendour of the Father's glory and His express form.<sup>105,106</sup>

But as glorious as in the deity of Christ, He had to be in the nature of man to be our Saviour.<sup>107</sup>

Rollock explains to his hearers that Christ

reconciled you by assuming and taking to him a true fleshly bodie: hee calles it, *The bodie of the flesh*: to let vs see, that the bodie which Iesus Christ bare in the world, and that hee beares now in glorie at the right hand of the Father, is not a phantasticall bodie, or an appearance of a bodie without soliditie (as the Heretikes called it) a mathematicall bodie, a maiestaticke body. All is but vanitie; but it is a reall bodie, as reall as euer the bodie of man was, or is, of flesh, bloud and bones: otherwise hee could neuer haue been a Mediatour to vs, and wee could neuer haue been better for him, either in his death or life.<sup>108</sup>

Therefore Christ assumed our nature and all our infirmities and lived as we do--hungering, thirsting, and becoming weary--but without sin.<sup>109</sup>

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<sup>103</sup> *Colossians*, (Colossians 1:15-17), pp. 47-48 and (Colossians 1:18-19) p. 60; "History," (John 18:7-12) p. 29.

<sup>104</sup> *Colossians*, (Colossians 2:8-10) p. 155; *Last Sermon*, (John 17:4-5) p. 199.

<sup>105</sup> *Last Sermon*, (John 17:25-26) p. 264.

<sup>106</sup> Those heretics who would deprive Christ of His Godhead are severely condemned by Rollock. *Last Sermon*, (John 17:4-5) p. 200 and (John 14:27-31) pp. 73-74; *Thessalonians*, (II Thessalonians 2:15-17) II, p. 109.

<sup>107</sup> *Last Sermon*, (John 17:4-5) p. 201.

<sup>108</sup> *Colossians*, (Colossians 1:21-22) p. 83.

<sup>109</sup> "History," (Matthew 27:4-5; Mark 15:33-34; Luke 23: 44-45) p. 224 and (Matthew 27:47-50; Mark 15:35-37; Luke 23:46; John 19:28-30) p. 242.

As both God and man Christ possess<sup>g</sup> two natures in only one person; "for that the nature of man in Iesus Christ is conioyned with the nature of the Godhead; and the two natures are become one person, to wit, the person of God is become one, ioyned with the nature of man."<sup>110</sup> But the glory of the manhood of Christ Rollock sees as being only a consequence of the glory of the Godhead in Christ. Although the glory of the nature of man in Iesus Christ surpasses all the glory of angels and men, it is nothing "in respect to that glory of God, which dwelleth in Iesus Christ."<sup>111,112</sup>

Rollock confesses Christ to be inferior to the Father not so much according to His humanity, but according to His office as Mediator. He is not inferior to the Father in His person, essence, or majesty, but He "taketh an office upon him, by the which he becometh inferiour to the Father: to wit, hee becometh Mediator."<sup>113</sup>

It is in Christ that the Father is revealed, and without Christ the nature and properties of God cannot be known,<sup>114</sup> especially the fact of the Trinity.<sup>115</sup> In

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<sup>110</sup> *Colossians*, (Colossians 2:8-10) p. 156; "History," (John 20:16-18) p. 415.

<sup>111</sup> *Last Sermon*, (John 17:1) p. 179.

<sup>112</sup> But Rollock explains concerning Christ's Incarnation, "When the Sonne of God tooke upon him the cloude of our nature, for the saluation of mankinde, hee kept himselfe close, and he uttered not himselfe in that nature of God: for if he had uttered himselfe in that force and glory proper unto him, he had beene glorified at his first incarnation, and then the redemption of man had not been done." *Last Sermon*, (John 17:4-5) pp. 200-201.

<sup>113</sup> *Ibid.*, (John 14:27-31) p. 74.

<sup>114</sup> *Ibid.*, (John 17:25-26) p. 259.

<sup>115</sup> "History," (Matthew 28:16-19; Mark 16:15) p. 663.

addition to revealing the Father Christ also represents unto us all the glory of the Father since He is the image of the invisible God and the splendour of His glory.<sup>116</sup> Thus the flesh of Christ serves as a veil hung down between ourselves and the glorious majesty of God, but a veil through which the glory of God does shine and through which we can see the glorious Father.<sup>117</sup> In the person of the Son the very substance of the Godhead has become corporal, and His essence has become incarnate--the Word has become flesh (John 1:14).<sup>118</sup>

The honour of Christ, particularly as He is man, appears in all the acts of God, including predestination, election, creation, and the redemption of man. Rollock summarizes: "The incomprehensible God in his unsearchable wisdom hath laid this plot, that he would be glorified in his sonne man; and therefore he would haue all to be done for the honour of that man Iesus Christ."<sup>119</sup> But for Rollock, nevertheless, the first ground of our redemption in the Mediator is the Godhead of Christ.<sup>120</sup> He states, "Thy Redeemer being such an high personage, the blood must be precious wherewith thou art redeemed; and thy redemption must stand fast and sure."<sup>121</sup> He is careful

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<sup>116</sup> *Last Sermon*, (John 14:7-10) p. 20.

<sup>117</sup> *Colossians*, (Colossians 1:13-14) p. 44.

<sup>118</sup> *Ibid.*, (Colossians 2:8-10) p. 156.

<sup>119</sup> *Ibid.*, (Colossians 1:15-17) pp. 52-53.

<sup>120</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 47.

<sup>121</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 53.

to explain, however, that Christ can be seen only in His manhood--now by faith and in heaven by sight--as He is clothed with our very same humanity.<sup>122</sup> He adds that even the angels are not as glorious as is the man Christ,<sup>123</sup> for seeing Him clothed with the nature of man is the most pleasant sight one can ever have.<sup>124</sup>

#### THE OFFICES OF CHRIST

Although Christ is described as a suitor and solicitor for our cause,<sup>125</sup> our crucified Advocate,<sup>126</sup> and the Ambassador of the Father,<sup>127</sup> He has been appointed by the Father unto a special threefold office. Rollock explains:

By reason of his office he is called "that Christ," because he is anointed of God the Father to be our King, Priest, and Prophet: for these three sorts of persons, kings, priests, and prophets, used to be anointed in the Old Testament.<sup>128</sup>

In Christ the appointed Prophet the will of God

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<sup>122</sup>Ibid., (Colossians 1:13-14) p. 43.

<sup>123</sup>*Last Sermon*, (John 17:2-3) p. 185.

<sup>124</sup>Ibid., (John 17:2-3) p. 191. Rollock explains that our knowledge must be twofold of Christ, as He is sent--God and man, Jesus Christ. But we can see Him only in His humanity, for the sight of His glory apart from His human nature would destroy us.

<sup>125</sup>"History," (Luke 24:41-46) p. 507.

<sup>126</sup>*Last Sermon*, (John 16:22-27) p. 161.

<sup>127</sup>Ibid., (John 17:25-26) p. 264.

<sup>128</sup>"History," (John 20:27-31) p. 576. Rollock almost always lists the three offices in this order. Cf. Ibid., (John 18:1-6) p. 13; *Thessalonians*, (I Thessalonians 5:11-13) I, p. 271; *Last Sermon*, (John 17:2-3) p. 185.

is revealed most clearly to the world by the Son who is in the bosom of the Father but has assumed the nature of man.<sup>129</sup> During his earthly life Christ glorified the Father in all three offices, and as Prophet chiefly by His teachings.<sup>130</sup> He was a Prophet powerful in both word and deed,<sup>131</sup> who instructed the Jews in the way of life and salvation, and brought special comfort and instruction to His own disciples.<sup>132</sup> But this office as Prophet is a continuing aspect of Christ's ministry; Rollock explains, "So that the doctrine of the Holy Spirit and the apostles comes all wholly from Jesus, as the only doctor and teacher of his kirk, of whom the Father said in his baptism and transfiguration, 'Hear him' (Luke 9:35)."<sup>133</sup>

Christ is the great and eternal High Priest, after the order of Melchizedek, who endures for ever.<sup>134</sup> He is the everlasting Priest and sacrifice<sup>135</sup> who glorified the Father in both suffering daily during His earthly life and once-for-all for man's sins.<sup>136</sup> Although Christ's death, whereby He offered up His own body for the redemption of mankind, was performed as a Priest, all which He merited

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<sup>129</sup>*Colossians*, (Colossians 1:10-12) pp. 22-23.

<sup>130</sup>*Last Sermon*, (John 17:4-5) p. 197.

<sup>131</sup>"History," (Luke 24:17-20) p. 446.

<sup>132</sup>*Ibid.*, (John 18:1-6) p. 13.

<sup>133</sup>*Ibid.*, (Matthew 28:20; Mark 16:16-18) p. 666.

<sup>134</sup>*Last Sermon*, (John 17:1) p. 174; "History," (John 18:28-32) pp. 63-64.

<sup>135</sup>"History," (Luke 24:37-41; John 20:20) p. 499.

<sup>136</sup>*Last Sermon*, (John 17:4-5) p. 197.

was accomplished in His priestly office.<sup>137</sup> As the High Priest Christ made intercession for His own people in both incessant prayer and in the offering up of a sacrifice.<sup>138</sup> Rollock insists that this intercession of Christ is bounded; both his prayer and His death were not for all men, but only the chosen.<sup>139</sup> But he explains:

It is not for scant of vertue in the Prayer, or in the death of Christ that the worlde perished; but for want of fayth, we are not capable of the vertue of his death: no soule is capable of that death, but that soule that is faythfull: that man that is faythfull, is made partaker of all the Prayers of Iesus Christ,<sup>140</sup> and the vertue of that death shall strike out to his saluation.

The Kingly office is also given great stress by Rollock. While he describes the kingship of Christ with many vivid declarations,<sup>141</sup> he insists that Christ, at least for the present time, is not an earthly monarch, but a spiritual king;<sup>142</sup> He is king over the soul.<sup>143</sup> Nevertheless, he maintains that it is of God's unchangeable

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<sup>137</sup> *Psalms*, (Psalm 51) p. 368; "History," (John 18:1-6) p. 13; *Last Sermon*, (John 16:13-22) p. 146.

<sup>138</sup> *Last Sermon*, (John 17:1) p. 174.

<sup>139</sup> *Ibid.*, (John 17:9-11) p. 213.

<sup>140</sup> *Ibid.*, (John 17:16-21) p. 243.

<sup>141</sup> Christ is the immortal and everlasting King ("Epistles," [II Corinthians 10:1-5] p. 416), the most glorious King that ever was or ever shall be ("History," [John 18:33-37] p. 77), the glorious King of Kings ("Epistles," [II Corinthians 4:3-5] p. 399), the Son of God, a strong King (*Colossians*, [Colossians 1:13-14] p. 36), the only King ("History," [Matthew 27:35-38; Mark 15:24-28; Luke 23:33-38; John 19:18-22] p. 180); also it is stated "thair is na Lord, bot the Lord Jesus, quha will tramp (=tread) down all the lordis in the earth and tread upon thair craigis (=necks) at his pleasure" ("Epistles," [II Corinthians 4:3-5] p. 401).

<sup>142</sup> "History," (John 18:33-37) pp. 78-79.

<sup>143</sup> "Epistles," (II Corinthians 10:1-5) p. 414.



decree that the Lord Jesus is to be King, and this decree will be executed in spite of all His enemies.<sup>144</sup>

And no man or woman--whether chosen or reprobate--is exempted from the Kingly power of Jesus Christ.<sup>145</sup>

Concerning this authority of Christ Rollock asserts, "The Father hat giuen the Sonne all authoritie and judgement, as he is the Sonne of man: not onely hath hee this power as he is God, but euen that nature of ours wherewith he is clad, hath this power."<sup>146</sup> This office is especially related to Christ's resurrection, for it was as the first-born from the dead that He rose to be the Lord of Lords.<sup>147</sup>

And this kingship is very important for our salvation because, although Christ merited blessings according to His priesthood, He communicates them effectually as a King.<sup>148</sup> Everlasting life is grounded on His kingly authority,<sup>149</sup> and it is as a King that He exercises His power to regenerate us by His Holy Spirit and Word.<sup>150</sup>

Although Christ is the only King, Priest, and Prophet, all believers share in these offices. All are

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<sup>144</sup>"History," (Matthew 27:35-38; Mark 15:24-28; Luke 23:33-38; John 19:18-22) p. 180.

<sup>145</sup>*Last Sermon*, (John 14:27-31) p. 79 and (John 17:2-3) p. 185.

<sup>146</sup>*Ibid.*, (John 17:2-3) pp. 185-186. Cf. *Colossians*, (Colossians 1:18-19) p. 61.

<sup>147</sup>*Colossians*, (Colossians 1:18-19) p. 61; "History," (Matthew 28:1-4; Mark 16:1-2; Luke 24:1; John 20:1) p. 337; *Last Sermon*, (John 17:4-5) pp. 196-197.

<sup>148</sup>"History," (Mark 16:19; Luke 24:50-52; Acts 1:6-10) p. 684.

<sup>149</sup>*Last Sermon*, (John 17:2-3) p. 185.

<sup>150</sup>*Psalms*, (Psalm 51) p. 368.

made kingly priests in Christ, and every member of the body of Christ benefits his fellow members in his common calling to the Priesthood of Christ.<sup>151</sup> Rollock teaches:

So there is not a true Christian man nor woman but they haue all these three offices, they are Kinges, Priestes, and Prophetes; Kinges to rule in the Church of Christ, Priestes to offer up in a manner a sacrifice to God. Prophetes to teache and helpe vp the building.<sup>152</sup>

As the Prophet, Priest, and King Christ is the only Mediator between God and man,<sup>153</sup> according to both natures; Rollock explains, "The Lord Iesus is that eternall high Priest, and Mediatour betwixt God and man: And as hee is Mediatour, being God and man, no doubt, hee seeketh at the Father, the glorifying of both the natures."<sup>154</sup> Interestingly Rollock is very specific as to the time of Christ's assumption of the mediatorial office; he asserts:

Scarcely was the Lord well born, when, through the persecution of Herod the tyrant, his mother was compelled to flee with him to Egypt; from that time he was under continual affliction, whilst as (=until) he entered into the thirtieth year of his age, when he takes upon him the part of a Mediator for mankind.<sup>155</sup>

The Mediator is essential because of the entrance of sin into the world. It was only after the fall of man, whereby the friendship between the Creator and His creature was broken, that there was need for a Mediator to stand

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<sup>151</sup> *Colossians*, (Colossians 4:2-4) p. 380.

<sup>152</sup> *Thessalonians*, (I Thessalonians 5:11-13) I, p. 271.

<sup>153</sup> *Ibid.*, (II Thessalonians 2:3-4) II, p. 61.

<sup>154</sup> *Last Sermon*, (John 17:1) p. 179. Cf. *Colossians*, (Colossians 1:15-17) p. 47.

<sup>155</sup> "History," (Matthew 27:45-46; Mark 15:33-34; Luke 23:44-45) p. 323.

between a holy God and sinful man.<sup>156,157</sup> It is this Mediator who makes reconciliation,<sup>158</sup> and through whom alone we can appear before the throne of grace in heaven.<sup>159</sup> Rollock insists that Christ's very coming into the world was to enable man to see the glory of the Father in Him.<sup>160</sup> And because only He is in the bosom of the Father, all the sight which both men and angels have of God is by a mediate person, the Son of God.<sup>161</sup> Thus even in heaven our joy and pleasure will be to see the Father through His glorious Son who is clad in our nature, sitting at the right hand of His Father.<sup>162</sup>

Rollock also asserts that the mediatorial office of Christ extends to the entire created order. It is in and through Him that all things are wrought<sup>163</sup> and all things in heaven and in earth are gathered together.<sup>164</sup> And he at least recognizes an epistemological aspect of Christ's mediation, for he writes that the ground of our

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<sup>156</sup>*Colossians*, (Colossians 1:20) p. 74.

<sup>157</sup>The order of Rollock's elements of theology strongly suggests that Christ is the Mediator only in so far as He makes restoration from the effects of sin for man's sake. "Effectual Calling," pp. 23-26.

<sup>158</sup>*Colossians*, (Colossians 1:20) p. 74.

<sup>159</sup>"History," (Luke 24:17-20) p. 449.

<sup>160</sup>*Last Sermon*, (John 14:17-20) p. 20.

<sup>161</sup>*Colossians*, (Colossians 1:13-14) p. 42.

<sup>162</sup>*Ibid.*, (Colossians 1:13-14) p. 44.

<sup>163</sup>"Epistles," (I Corinthians 2:10-12) pp. 379-380.

<sup>164</sup>*Last Sermon*, (John 17:16-21) p. 244.

knowledge is the knowledge that the Son hath of the Father.<sup>165</sup>  
 All the learning of the world--the laws, humanity, and  
 philosophy--is absolutely nothing without Jesus Christ.<sup>166</sup>  
 Hence Rollock has great disrespect for the Thomists, the  
 Scotists, the Sophists, and all human philosophers who  
 "have turned the gospell of Jesus to Aristotle."<sup>167</sup>

#### THE WORK OF CHRIST

Christ the Mediator is described as the elder  
 brother<sup>168</sup> and the second Adam,<sup>169</sup> who set aside His own  
 glory in order to seek the glory of the Godhead,<sup>170</sup> and  
 rendered that perfect obedience which gave Him the right  
 to claim the promise given under the condition of obedience.<sup>171</sup>  
 His whole life was a humbling for our sake,<sup>172</sup> including  
 His laying aside of His glory to assume the form of a  
 servant, His Incarnation, His cruel death on the cross,  
 and also His remaining on the earth forty days after His  
 resurrection when the glory of heaven was his.<sup>173</sup> Also  
 his earthly life involved the taking upon Himself of the  
 curse for our sakes, though the reality of this curse did

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<sup>165</sup>Ibid., (John 17:25-26) p. 264.

<sup>166</sup>"Epistles," (I Timothy 1:12-14) p. 542.

<sup>167</sup>Ibid., (I Corinthians 2:10-12) p. 388.

<sup>168</sup>*Thessalonians*, (I Thessalonians 4:3-6) I, p. 175;  
 "History," (John 20:16-18) p. 415.

<sup>169</sup>"Epistles," (John 3:6) p. 525.

<sup>170</sup>*Last Sermon*, (John 17:1) p. 179.

<sup>171</sup>Ibid., (John 17:4-5) p. 195.

<sup>172</sup>"History," (Luke 24:37-41; John 20:20) p. 499.

<sup>173</sup>Ibid., (Luke 24:41-46) pp. 505-506.

not appear to the world until His accursed death on the cross.<sup>174,175</sup> In elaborating on the assumption of the curse Rollock states:

Christ, therefore, our Mediator, subjected himself unto the covenant of works, and unto the law for our sake, and did both fulfill the condition of the covenant of works in his holy and good life, even in the highest degree of perfection, as being God and man--even that most Holy One of God--in one person: and also he did undergo that curse which was denounced against man in that covenant of works, if that condition of good and holy works were not kept;--for in the covenant of works ye have together with the promise of life to him who doth well, a communication of everlasting death to him who doth not well. For this cause Christ our Mediator doth well according to the promise, and died also according to the curse denounced.<sup>176</sup>

Rollock stresses that the efficacy of the death of Christ is entirely dependent on the worthiness of His Person--"Dico sanctitatem personae Christi Dei & hominis, operaque omnia sancta tam sanctae personae fundamentum fuisse satisfactionis & meriti, quae solius passionis sunt propriè."<sup>177</sup> The blood of Christ is powerful because of the worthiness of His Person;<sup>178</sup> that is, His active obedience, or the obedience of His life, is the foundation of the satisfaction and merit which we have in His passion. And without this holiness and excellency of His person and

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<sup>174</sup> Ibid., (Matthew 27:33-34; Mark 15:22-23; Luke 23:32; John 19:17) pp. 166-167; *Foedere*, p. B8.

<sup>175</sup> Rollock explains concerning the life of Christ, "Then the whole life of Jesus Christ, while he was in this world, was a continual burden of our sins that he bare, and that obedience to his Father required that not only in his lifetime should he do for salvation, but chiefly it required that the Mediator should die." "History," (Matthew 27:45-46; Mark 15:33-34; Luke 23:44-45) p. 221.

<sup>176</sup> "Effectual Calling," p. 53.

<sup>177</sup> *Foedere*, pp. Q7-B1.

<sup>178</sup> *Colossians*, (Colossians 1:13-14) p. 40.

the purity of His life, "it is most certain that his passion could neither have satisfied God's wrath nor merited mercy for us."<sup>179</sup> Thus Rollock rejoices that "there was never such a worthy person in the world as Jesus, and that was never such excellency in the death of any as in the death of Jesus."<sup>180</sup>

It becomes apparent in Rollock's framework that although he does teach that Christ lived a perfect life of righteousness and obedience, it is the death of Christ which dominates his thinking.<sup>181</sup> As glorious as is the Person of Christ and as perfect was His obedience, Rollock maintains that He would profit us nothing had He not offered Himself upon the cross for our sakes.<sup>182</sup> The entire work of Christ would be of not worth to us if He had not died, for the "perfect abolishing and undoing of our sins required a perfect passion and suffering of the Mediator."<sup>183</sup> Rollock explains:

The reason is, for that the justice of God did required for our breach of God's covenant, that we should be punished with death eternal, according to the condition denounced and annexed to the

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<sup>179</sup>"Effectual Calling," pp. 54-55.

<sup>180</sup>"History," (Matthew 27:47-50; Mark 15:35-37; Luke 23:46; John 19:28-30) pp. 244-245.

<sup>181</sup>Rollock states, "These are the two pillars of our faith,-- the death of Christ, and his resurrection; and these are the two points that the devil and the heretics have from time to time striven to hew and cut down, that they should not appear to the world, because they are the chief pillars of our faith. "History," (Matthew 27:57; Mark 15:42-43; Luke 23:50; John 19:38) pp. 304-305.

<sup>182</sup>*Colossians*, (Colossians 1:21-22) pp. 83-84.

<sup>183</sup>"History," (Matthew 27:45-46; Mark 15:33-34; Luke 23: 44-45) p. 221.

promise of the covenant. Therefore, no good works of our own, or of any mediator for us, after the breach of that covenant of works, could have satisfied the justice of God, which of necessity after a sort required the punishment and death of the offender, or certainly of some mediator in his stead. If, then, all the good and holy works of the Mediator could not satisfy that wrath and justice of God for sin, it is clear that they could not merit any new grace or mercy of God for us.<sup>184</sup>

Therefore the reconciliation of man to his Creator could be accomplished only by means of a mediator whose blood is offered.<sup>185,186</sup>

Christ's sufferings were so intense that He is said to have had upon Him the pains of Hell;<sup>187</sup> hence His death is the figure of eternal damnation.<sup>188</sup> This intensity

<sup>184</sup>"Effectual Calling," pp. 53-54.

<sup>185</sup>*Colossians*, (Colossians 1:20) pp. 74-75.

<sup>186</sup>Rollock teaches concerning the death of Christ that (1) all of His sufferings were appointed by God from eternity (*Foedere*, p. Q6; *Last Sermon*, [John 17:1] pp. 179-180), (2) in His death the wisdom of God shined more brightly than in the creation of the heavens ("History," [Matthew 27:46] p. 237), (3) although the Father willed that He die shamefully (*Ibid.*, [Matthew 27:27-32; Mark 15:16-21; Luke 23:24-31] p. 154), those who put Him to death are inexcusable before God (*Ibid.*, [John 19:1-6] p. 101), (4) in His obedience and humility the mercy and love of the Father shone to the world (*Last Sermon*, [John 17:4-5] p. 196), (5) Christ suffered as man in both body and soul ("History," [John 18:1-6] p. 18), though chiefly in His soul (*Ibid.*, [Matthew 27:45-46; Mark 15:33-34; Luke 23:44-45] p. 224), (6) His sufferings were too great to be endured by His human nature alone (*Ibid.*, [Matthew 27:46] pp. 231-233), (7) Christ offered Himself unto death willingly (*Colossians*, [Colossians 1:21-22] p. 79; "History," [John 18:1-6] p. 18), and (8) His sufferings were enormous (*Foedere*, p. Q6; "History," [Matthew 27: 45-46; Mark 15:33-34; Luke 23:44-45] p. 222) and His death both ignominious and very offensive (*Last Sermon*, [John 17:1] pp. 179-180)

<sup>187</sup>*Last Sermon*, (John 16:28-33) p. 171.

<sup>188</sup>*Colossians*, (Colossians 1:20) p. 76; "History," (Matthew 27:39-44; Mark 15:29-32; Luke 23:35-38; John 19:23-34) p. 186. Rollock (1) also explains that His death shows us the greatness of sin (*Colossians*, [Colossians 1:20] p. 76; "History," [John 18:1-6] p. 17) and the coming final judgment of the world ("History," [Matthew 27:33-34; Mark 15:22-23; Luke 23:32; John 19:17] p. 163), (2) Christ suffered as a reprobate, and what He suffered temporally, the wicked will suffer



was due to the fact that He was under the terrible and horrible wrath of God for our sins and the sins of the whole world. Rollock asserts that the wrath of the Father was fighting with the soul of Christ.<sup>189</sup> His death satisfied the Father's justice, which could have been satisfied by nothing else;<sup>190</sup> Rollock states strongly:

No, ere one drop<sup>of</sup> grace came, it behoved the Lord to be taken, and put in the wine-press of hell, and trodden on, and tramped on with the feet of the wrath of God; for this justice of God who was offended, should never have suffered one drop of grace to come, if it had not been satisfied by the blood of the Mediator.<sup>191</sup>

Christ endured so much suffering for our sake and in our place. The Immaculate Lamb took upon Himself our sin, becoming the Mediator, enduring the curse of God for us,<sup>192</sup> and was justified for our sake.<sup>193</sup> Thus Rollock warns his hearers that either they must suffer eternal death in hell or have their sins crucified on the cross with Christ and partake of His death.<sup>194</sup> Rollock also

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eternally (Ibid.), (3) the torment "and railing in the death of Christ is an image of the torment of hell" (Ibid., [Matthew 27:39-44; Mark 15:29-32; Luke 23:35-38; John 19:23-34] p. 190), and (4) as He thirsted and endured pain, so shall the wicked thirst both in body and soul and endure great torment in eternal damnation (Ibid., [Matthew 27:33-34; Mark 15:22-23; Luke 23:32; John 19:17] p. 165).

<sup>189</sup>"History," (John 18:1-6) pp. 17-18.

<sup>190</sup>"Effectual Calling," p. 54; *Colossians*, (Colossians 1:20) p. 76.

<sup>191</sup>"History," (Matthew 27:46) p. 236.

<sup>192</sup>Ibid., (Luke 24:21-26) p. 461.

<sup>193</sup>*Psalms*, (Psalm 32) p. 151.

<sup>194</sup>"History," (Matthew 27:33-34; Mark 15:22-23; Luke 23:32; John 19:17) pp. 167-168.

explains that although Christ was innocent in Himself, He was guilty in us as our Mediator and Saviour.<sup>195</sup>

It is through the death of Christ and His earnest intercession that the Holy Spirit has been given. Rollock insists:

The Lord meriteth that Spirite by his death. Ere euer we gette that Spirite, hee hath merited it; yea, and Christ must rise againe, and must passe up to Heaven, and bee glorified, and there hee must bee an Advocate, and there sitte at the right hande of the Father, to giue this Spirite to his owne chosen, before they can gette him.<sup>196</sup>

Thus the Spirit is merited by the death of Christ but His effectual operation proceeds from Christ glorified.<sup>197</sup>

In the finished work of Christ there resides great sufficiency and merit. He is an ample Head and Saviour for all the world,<sup>198</sup> and the Heavens are incapable of containing the grace of Jesus Christ, so that any lack must be in our narrow capacity to receive Him, not in His sufficiency.<sup>199</sup> Rollock affirms that "the bloud of Christ is sufficient to redeeme ten thousand worlds; yea ten thousand millions of worlds."<sup>200</sup> His blood is most precious, making our redemption sure and fast.<sup>201</sup> In it is the power to cleanse the sins of man, to cleanse our

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<sup>195</sup> Ibid., (John 19:1-6) p. 98.

<sup>196</sup> *Last Sermon*, (John 14:16-18) p. 42.

<sup>197</sup> "History," (Matthew 28:16-19; Mark 16:15) p. 663.

<sup>198</sup> *Thessalonians*, (II Thessalonians 3:16-18) II, p. 169.

<sup>199</sup> Ibid., II, p. 172.

<sup>200</sup> *Colossians*, (Colossians 1:18-19) p. 62.

<sup>201</sup> Ibid., (Colossians 1:15-17) p. 47.

foul nature, to ransom us from death, hell, and the guiltiness of our sins, the power to free us from the justice and wrath of God,<sup>202</sup> as well as the power to pacify our consciences.<sup>203,204</sup>

It is not altogether clear in Rollock's thought as to what kind of human nature was assumed by Christ in His Incarnation. It is stated that Christ was a man and possessed our nature with all its infirmities that He might make us strong.<sup>205</sup> But it appears that Rollock sees this human nature as qualitatively distinct from ours in its sinlessness; he contends:

I call the temptations that the Lord suffered, those trials of him by the devil, his enemy, for he let him never rest, and woe-ful was that battle that he had with him on the cross, and his temptations by the ministers of the devil in the world, who solicited him to leave his God, even such temptations as we are subject to in this world, only except sin. For he knew no sin, there was not one spot of sin in that Holy One; and so he was not subject to these foul motions and inward temptations as we are, who dare not face the sun or the moon.<sup>206</sup>

Another ambiguity in Rollock concerns those for whom Christ's death is intended. On the one hand he

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<sup>202</sup>"History," (John 19:34-37) p. 282.

<sup>203</sup>*Colossians*, (Colossians 1:21-22) p. 84.

<sup>204</sup>Rollock also teaches that both the angels and the created order benefit from the work of Christ. The angels were not given the perfection of blessedness until Christ's work was finished (*Colossians*, [Colossians 1:20] p. 72). In particular they were bettered and their glory augmented by the resurrection of Christ ("Epistles," [II Corinthians 5:16-18] p. 359). And the entire creation is renewed through Christ's work (*Ibid.*, [John 3:6] p. 512; [II Corinthians 15:16-18] pp. 358-361).

<sup>205</sup>"History," (Matthew 27:27-32; Mark 15:16-21; Luke 23:24-31) pp. 152-153.

<sup>206</sup>*Ibid.*, (Matthew 27:45-46; Matthew 15: 33-34; Luke 23:44-45) p. 222.

declares that all the sins of the world were laid on Christ and slain in His death.<sup>207</sup> Christ is said to have offered up a voluntary sacrifice for the sins of the world,<sup>208</sup> and to have borne and become surety for the sins of the world.<sup>209</sup> It is stated that since Christ took upon Him all sins He had to suffer shame before the world.<sup>210</sup> But on the other hand Rollock limits the scope of Christ's work so as not to include men like the Pharisees.<sup>211</sup> In discussing the meaning of the biblical phrase "all things," Rollock declares that "all" refers not to the devils, the fallen angels, nor to the reprobate men and women, but only to the blessed angels and the chosen men and women who are elected from all eternity.<sup>212</sup> It is stated that Christ died not for all men, but only for those chosen from eternity and given by the Father to His Son the Mediator.<sup>213</sup> Furthermore, it is asserted that it was clearly in Christ's mind as to whom each drop of blood did appertain,<sup>214</sup> as He suffered to abolish and undo the sins of the elect,<sup>215</sup>

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<sup>207</sup> *Colossians*, (Colossians 2:14-15) pp. 189-190.

<sup>208</sup> "History," (John 18:1-6) p. 18.

<sup>209</sup> *Ibid.*, (John 18:38-40) pp. 91-92.

<sup>210</sup> "History," (Matthew 27:33-34; Mark 15:22-23; Luke 23:32; John 19:17) p. 161.

<sup>211</sup> "Epistles," (I Timothy 1:14-16) p. 551.

<sup>212</sup> *Colossians*, (Colossians 1:20) p. 71.

<sup>213</sup> *Last Sermon*, (John 17:9-11) p. 213.

<sup>214</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 215.

<sup>215</sup> "History," (Matthew 27:45-46; Mark 15:33-34; Luke 23:44-45) p. 221.

and all penitent sinners.<sup>216</sup>

### PREDESTINATION

In his theological works Rollock lays a rather strong stress on God's predestination from all eternity, which comes immediately after the Person and Work of Christ in his general outline. Predestination is stated to be man's election in Christ, as also is man's calling, justification, and glorification.<sup>217</sup> The Incarnation is described as the first decree of God's free grace, because the love of the Father caused the fulness of Deity to dwell corporally in Christ.<sup>218</sup> The second decree is man's original creation in the image of God, and then his restoration after the fall to the image of Christ as he is called, justified, and glorified to the praise of God's glory.<sup>219</sup> This degree of the restoration of mankind falls in time partly before the execution of the decree concerning the Son of God and partly after it; that is, the decree concerning the Son "falleth now as it were into the midst of the repairing of mankind, or of the execution of the decree concerning man's redemption."<sup>220</sup>

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<sup>216</sup> Ibid., (Matthew 28:9-10; Mark 16:10-11) p. 427.

<sup>217</sup> "Effectual Calling," pp. 24-25.

<sup>218</sup> Ibid., p. 267.

<sup>219</sup> "Effectual Calling," p. 267. Rollock appears to have been the first Scottish theologian to use the term "decree" in a technical theological sense.

<sup>220</sup> Ibid., p. 268. It becomes evident that in Rollock's doctrine of predestination there is a rigid separation between the decree concerning Christ and the decree concerning man's salvation, and this separation becomes even more evident and pronounced in the Calvinists who were to follow him.

Rollock teaches a twofold ordinance of God; he explains that

from all eternitie there hes beene two ordinaunces of God concerning men and wemen. There hes beene from all eternitie, and before the creation of the worlde of men and wemen an ordinaunce to lyfe. Agayne there hes been another ordinaunce, that some should goe to Hell; as there past an ordinaunce of lyfe in the counsell of God, so there past an ordinaunce of death. And these two decrees must stand. The decree of lyfe cannot be rescinded. The decree of damnation cannot be rescinded.<sup>221</sup>

Some are given by the Father to the Son and are written in the book of life,<sup>222</sup> while others are excluded.<sup>223</sup>

Rollock insists that the knowledge of one's predestination is necessary for true Christianity. He advises that an individual should seek the assurance that he has been foreordained to everlasting life in Christ, for if he is of the number of the elect, the grace and glory of Christ will extend to him.<sup>224</sup> In answer to the question as to how one can ascertain that he is of the chosen, Rollock responds, "Mediately I knowe it by the effects, and by them one by one I clim and ascend vp untill I come

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<sup>221</sup>*Thessalonians*, (I Thessalonians 5:8-10) I, p. 263. Cf. Robert Rollock, *De Aeternae Mentis Divinae Approbatione et Improbatione, Doctrina Brevis, et pro Natura Rei Tam Arduae Explicata*, Vol. I of *Select Works of Robert Rollock, Principal of the University of Edinburgh*, ed. by William M. Gunn (2 vols.; Edinburgh; Wodrow Society, 1849), p. 561 (Hereafter designated as *Mentis*).

<sup>222</sup>"Epistles," (I Timothy 1:14-16) pp. 556-557; *Last Sermon* (John 17:2-3) p. 187.

<sup>223</sup>In some places Rollock insists that God has decreed that some men should go to Hell (*Mentis*, p. 562; *Thessalonians*, [I Thessalonians 5:8-10] I, p. 264). In other places Rollock speaks of the reprobate being permitted by God to fall to ruin (*Mentis*, p. 562), as a just penalty for sin (*Thessalonians*, [I Thessalonians 5:8-10] I, p. 263).

<sup>224</sup>*Thessalonians*, (II Thessalonians 3:16-18) II, p. 172.

to that decree of God." He adds:

Then vvoulde thou knowve that thou art appointed to lyfe before all eternity, look if thou hast a beginning of sanctification, look if thou be sanctified by the death of Christ, and then go to thy calling. And finde thou these in thee, assure thee God hes appoynted thee to saluation before the worlde was made.<sup>225</sup>

Thus it is that faith in Christ and good works serve as confirmation of our election,<sup>226</sup> as also does the fact that one can rejoice when he hears of God's glory in Christ Jesus.<sup>227</sup> Rollock adds that those elected and called effectually cannot possibly fall away and perish, but that they are ordained to final perseverance, and through particular means such as exhortation, admonition, teaching, rebuking, and the ministry of the Word.<sup>228</sup>

#### SOTERIOLOGY

There is a special saving love of God which is manifested in the humanity of Christ,<sup>229</sup> and only in Him.<sup>230</sup> Rollock proclaims, "God that sittes in heauen will not looke upon thee without his sonne: he is no father to thee neither will he shew any sparke of loue to thee, but in his onely sonne the Lord Jesus."<sup>231</sup> In Christ we are made brethren of Christ, sons of God, and are given the

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<sup>225</sup> Ibid., (I Thessalonians 5:8-10) I, p. 262.

<sup>226</sup> *Last Sermon*, (John 17:6-8) pp. 204-205.

<sup>227</sup> *Colossians*, (Colossians 2:8-10) pp. 159-160.

<sup>228</sup> *Thessalonians*, (II Thessalonians 2:15-17) II, pp. 103-104.

<sup>229</sup> "Epistles," (Titus 3:3-7) p. 440; *Last Sermon*, (John 14:1-2) p. 4.

<sup>230</sup> *Colossians*, (Colossians 1:26-27) p. 118. Rollock states that neither the Jew nor the Turk, who seek God apart from Christ ever find Him. Ibid., (Colossians 1:1-6) p. 5.

<sup>231</sup> Ibid., (Colossians 1:1-6) p. 5.



Spirit of adoption who testifies to us that we are brethren and causes us to cry "Abba, Father."<sup>232</sup> Because He has become our loving Father in Christ we can appear before Him,<sup>233</sup> "bee homelie with him,"<sup>234</sup> and can look and speak to Him as to a Father.<sup>235,236</sup>

Rollock does teach that our salvation is embodied in Christ, though perhaps his emphasis on this truth is not as great as in the Reformers. All parts of man's salvation are found in Him, for we are redeemed and repaired in Him as His flesh is united hypostatically to the Godhead,<sup>237</sup> and in gripping Him we are saved.<sup>238</sup> Our redemption is particularly associated with His death,<sup>239</sup>

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<sup>232</sup>*Last Sermon*, (John 15:15-18) p. 108.

<sup>233</sup>*Thessalonians*, (I Thessalonians 3:13-4:3) I, p. 152.

<sup>234</sup>*Last Sermon*, (John 17:1) p. 177.

<sup>235</sup>*Thessalonians*, (I Thessalonians 3:13-4:3) I, p. 152.

<sup>236</sup>Rollock explains that this adoption is especially wrought by the Holy Spirit who gives us liberty to cry "Abba, Father," ("Epistles," [Psalm 130:1-4] p. 459), who opens our mouths so that we can call upon God (*Thessalonians* [I Thessalonians 3:13-4:3] I, p. 153), and who witnesses that we are indeed the sons of God through adoption (*Psalms*, [Psalm 51] p. 359).

<sup>237</sup>"Effectual Calling," p. 268.

<sup>238</sup>"Epistles," (Psalm 130:1-4) p. 468. Cf. *Colossians*, (Colossians 1:26-27) p. 117 and (Colossians 2:8-10) p. 157.

<sup>239</sup>Rollock states that "if the Lord Jesus Christ had not drunken out that cup of the wrath of God, there had never been such a thing as any joy or any peace of conscience, in this world, nor in the world to come, if it had not been ransomed with the precious blood of Jesus Christ; there is not one drop of grace, peace, or joy, but that which is bought and which the blood of Christ hath paid for." "History," (Matthew 27:46) p. 236.

for grace, remission of sins, forgiveness, and the quieting of the conscience come to us through His blood.<sup>240</sup> Because we are redeemed by His precious blood, the ransom paid for our deliverance from sin is the dearest price ever met in the history of the world.<sup>241</sup> And since our salvation is in Christ, He is the store-house or treasure-house of all the great mercies, benefits, and gifts of God,<sup>242</sup> so that there is no grace given to any creature which does not come from His hand,<sup>243</sup> particularly through Christ the man.<sup>244</sup>

Because all grace is contained in Christ it is imperative for a sinner to be "imped and engrafted by a true and lively faith in Jesus Christ," or he will be banished from the face of God for ever and be cast into the society of the damned.<sup>245</sup> The whole blessedness of our nature stands in union with Christ our Head,<sup>246</sup> with whom we are clad more surely than is a man with a shirt.<sup>247</sup> Rollock contrasts the old man with the new man in terms

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<sup>240</sup> Ibid., (Matthew 27:50-54; Mark 15:37-39; Luke 23:46-48; John 19:30) p. 253; (John 19:34-37; pp. 282-283; (Matthew 27:45-46; Mark 15:33-34; Luke 23:44-45) p. 221; *Psalms*, (Psalm 51) pp. 354 and 356.

<sup>241</sup> *Colossians*, (Colossians 1:15-17) p. 46.

<sup>242</sup> *Last Sermon*, (John 14:21-26) p. 69; John 17:16-21) p. 229.

<sup>243</sup> *Colossians*, (Colossians 1:18-19) p. 60; (Colossians 2:13-14) p. 180; "Epistles," (II Corinthians 5:16-18) p. 362; *Thessalonians*, (II Thessalonians 3:16-18) II, p. 172.

<sup>244</sup> T. F. Torrance, "Baptism," p. 24.

<sup>245</sup> "Epistles" (Psalm 130:1-4) p. 468.

<sup>246</sup> *Thessalonians*, (I Thessalonians 4:13-15) I, p. 208.

<sup>247</sup> *Colossians*, (Colossians 2:8-10) p. 158.

of this doctrine of union with Christ as he states:

As the old man is the corruption of nature, sucked out of the rotten stock of *Adam* by a natural propagation: even so this new man is the uncorruption, I Cor. 5 or that holiness drawne out, not of *Adam* nor of father, nor mother; but of *Jesus* the greene tree; not by a naturall propagation, but by a gracious insition, and ingrafting into *Jesus*.<sup>248</sup>

And this conjunction with Christ is not only made once, but it is also a growing, daily communion, or drawing nearer to Him as the Head.<sup>249</sup> It is by virtue of this union with Christ, by faith in His blood, that the believer has perfection in Him despite his own imperfection.<sup>250</sup>

Rollock strongly emphasizes the fact that God cannot be reconciled with the sinner apart from the blood of the Mediator.<sup>251</sup> God is indeed a terrible judge, compassed about with burning and ready to destroy the sinner, who dares not present himself before the Majesty of God, unless he be clothed with the righteousness and perfect satisfaction offered in the blood of Christ,<sup>252</sup> the only armour in the world which can preserve us from

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<sup>248</sup> Ibid., (Colossians 3:9-10) p. 297.

<sup>249</sup> *Thessalonians*, (I Thessalonians 5:8-10) p. 267.

<sup>250</sup> *Colossians*, (Colossians 1:28-29) p. 126. Rollock explains, "So when the Lord *Jesus* hath once extended the mantle of his mercy and compassion upon his chosen children, then albeit they were replenished with never so many vile and gross sins, yet the Lord will not lay them to their charge, but in *Jesus* he will count them just, righteous, and innocent; so that he will account more of them than they are worthy of. For except that every one of us be persuaded of this, that we are greater men in the account of *Jesus Christ* than we are in ourselves, we shall perish in our sins for ever." "Epistles," (I Timothy 1:12-14) p. 534. Rollock also teaches that the union of the believer with Christ will not be perfected and made fully sensible until the consummation of salvation. *Thessalonians*, , (I Thessalonians 5:8-10) I, p. 267; "Epistles," (II Corinthians 5:16-18) p. 358.

<sup>251</sup> *Foedere*, , p. B7; "History," (Matthew 27:47-50; Mark 15:35-37; Luke 23:46; John 19:28-30) p. 243.

<sup>252</sup> "Epistles," (Psalm 130:1-4) p. 464.

His consuming justice and wrath.<sup>253</sup> It is asserted that the presence of the majesty of God is so terrible that all the world and the angels themselves cannot bear it, especially when it is encountered by a sinful disposition, but this same presence is joyful, sweet, and comfortable to those who are in Christ Jesus.<sup>254</sup>

This mercy of God which is found in Christ is described as "the preciouslest jewel that ever was,"<sup>255</sup> for one drop of grace in Christ Jesus makes one richer than all the kings of the world.<sup>256</sup> Both our effectual calling and the faith by which we believe are wrought sheerly by divine grace.<sup>257</sup> Christ now offers His grace throughout the whole world to cure even the most incurable diseases,<sup>258</sup> and no sinner is too unworthy to receive His mercy.<sup>259</sup> In fact, it is stated that if the greatest sinner who ever was, comes to Christ, he will be received with mercy.<sup>260</sup> But Rollock appears to make God's grace conditional upon man's repentance; Christ is said to have come to save only those who groan and grieve under sin, for

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<sup>253</sup>Ibid., p. 467.

<sup>254</sup>"History," (Matthew 28:1-4; Mark 16:1-2; Luke 24:1; John 20:1) p. 342.

<sup>255</sup>"Epistles," (I Timothy 1:14-16) p. 559.

<sup>256</sup>Ibid., (Titus 3:3-7) p. 447.

<sup>257</sup>"Effectual Calling," pp. 29 and 269-271.

<sup>258</sup>"Epistles," (John 3:6) p. 522.

<sup>259</sup>"History," (John 18:19-27) p. 60.

<sup>260</sup>Ibid., (Matthew 28:9-10; Mark 16:10-11) p. 427.

it is only such persons as these, who are of a contrite spirit, who tremble at the Lord's words, that do get mercy and salvation. Then, in a word, a humble and penitent sinner, how great soever his sin he shall get salvation; so there is nothing that hindereth thee from mercy and salvation, but the maliciousness of thine own heart. It is not adultery, it is not murder, it is not blasphemy or oppression that depriveth thee of that salvation, but the hardness of thine heart that cannot repent.<sup>261</sup>

Salvation must be entirely of God's workings because of man's total inability in himself.<sup>262</sup> Thus there is the total exclusion of works or man's own merits in the accomplishing of his redemption.<sup>263</sup> And Christ Himself stands at the very centre of God's design toward redeeming sinful man.<sup>264</sup> In Him the believer has a perfect redemption, though his own faith is not perfect.<sup>265</sup> But there is a double righteousness of the believer; one is imputed which is the perfect righteousness of Christ while the other becomes inherent within as the Holy Spirit purges the inner man from sin and natural corruption.<sup>266</sup>

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<sup>261</sup>"Epistles," (I Timothy 1:14-16) p. 551.

<sup>262</sup>"History," (John 21:1-7) p. 586. Rollock asserts, "Not by any merit of thine own, for thou couldest merit nothing at the Lord's hands but hell and damnation: but it is of the free grace and liberality of the Father and the Son that they are made thine . . . ." Ibid., (Luke 24:48-49) p. 534.

<sup>263</sup>"Epistles," (Titus 3:3-7) pp. 442-443.

<sup>264</sup>Rollock explains, "The order of the working of these two bandes would bee considered: We neuer begin first: no man beginneth first to gripe Christ, but he must gripe us first: all thinges begin at him, and his affection is to us first: ere we loue him, hee loueth us: and because he imbraceth us so friendly with his loue, therefore we loue him: and the sense of the loue of God in Iesus Christ were not in us first wrought, wee would neuer love him: Euen so it is that conjunction, and if he neuer conjoyned himselfe with us first, we would neuer gripe him." *Last Sermon*, (John 15:1-6) p. 89.

<sup>265</sup>*Foedere*, p. B8.

<sup>266</sup>*Colossians*, (Colossians 4:12-14) p. 424.

In discussing the different elements or "estates" of our salvation Rollock declares:

Brethren, the highest estate we can come to in this life is sanctification. We passe from predestination to vocation, from vocation to justification, from justification to sanctification, we cannot reach higher so long as we are here. We may growe in this estate but we cannot come higher. As to glorification, we get it in the lyfe to come when we leaue this life.<sup>267</sup>

He further explains:

Which sorte of justification, is accomplished after this order. First, the sinfull man being called of God, beleeveth in Iesus Christ, to whose sacrifice the wrath of God pursuing him, hee is compelled after some sort, one or vther to flie, as unto a certaine Girth. Then taking holde vpon that sacrifice, the wrath of God is now pacified: The wrath being asswaged, there is place for grace and mercy, and therefore of grace, he forgiveth him his sinne, and therewith imputeth to the sinner, that righteousnesse and satisfaction of Christ, which by faith before he had apprehended.<sup>268</sup>

He argues consistently that justification is always prior to regeneration,<sup>269</sup> for a man must be justified by the blood of Christ before he can be regenerated by the Holy Spirit.<sup>270</sup> But before justification there must be repentance, for there are certain changes of the mind which go before and prepare the mind for regeneration. Thus justification takes place between repentance and regeneration.<sup>271</sup> Following justification and regeneration the believer is adopted as a son of God and made an heir of the inheritance in Christ.<sup>272</sup> But Rollock clarifies his meaning concerning

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<sup>267</sup> *Thessalonians*, (I Thessalonians 4:6-8) I, pp. 188-189.

<sup>268</sup> *Psalms*, (Psalm 32) pp. 152-153.

<sup>269</sup> *Ibid.*, (Psalm 51) p. 370.

<sup>270</sup> "Epistles," (Titus 3:3-7) p. 448.

<sup>271</sup> "Effectual Calling," p. 245.

<sup>272</sup> "Epistles," (Titus 3:3-7) p. 448.

these elements when he writes," The things are to be distinguished not in time but in nature; for at that very same instant, we believe, and be effectually called, and do repent, and be justified, and be regenerate."<sup>273</sup> In reconciling us to God in His free covenant there are two benefits which are necessary--the forgiveness of sins and regeneration--and both are obtained in Christ.<sup>274</sup> And Rollock insists that one must be justified in Christ before he is sanctified in himself.<sup>275,276</sup>

It is insisted that before one can enter into heaven there must be a complete alteration or new birth.<sup>277,278</sup> This change is accomplished the moment one begins to lay hold on the Lord Jesus by a true and lively faith,<sup>279</sup> and he is changed from nature to grace, from death to life, from hell to heaven.<sup>280</sup> This new birth is properly the work of the Holy Spirit,<sup>281</sup> who uses the preaching of the

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<sup>273</sup>"Effectual Calling," p. 245.

<sup>274</sup>*Psalms*, (Psalm 51) p. 368.

<sup>275</sup>*Ibid.*, p. 370.

<sup>276</sup>Rollock's order appears to be (1) Predestination, (2) Vocation, (3) Faith, (4) Repentance, (5) Forgiveness and the Remission of Sins, (6) Justification, (7) Regeneration, (8) Reconciliation, (9) Adoption as Sons, (10) Sanctification, (11) Glorification. Exactly where union with Christ comes is not easy to say.

<sup>277</sup>"History," (John 21:8-14) p. 595; "Epistles," (Titus 3:7) pp. 445-446.

<sup>278</sup>In a rather curious passage he asserts, "No, the Lord Jesus, that Holy One, (if thou be not made as white as the snow and all thy sins be not purged) he will not suffer thee once to touch him, nor to kiss his feet." "Epistles," (Luke 7:37-50) p. 509.

<sup>279</sup>*Ibid.*, (John 3:6) p. 524.

<sup>280</sup>*Ibid.*, (II Corinthians 5:16-18) p. 357.

<sup>281</sup>*Ibid.*, (I Corinthians 2:10-12) p. 385.



Gospel as the instrument for our vocation.<sup>282</sup> Rollock always distinguishes clearly between the Law and the Gospel. While the Law is seen to be of extreme justice which terrifies the soul, the Gospel is one of mercy which draws to it the hearts of men.<sup>283</sup> But both are necessary, for no one finds himself in heaven who has not first found himself in hell.<sup>284</sup>

The regeneration of mankind is viewed by Rollock as being of a higher order than the original creation of the world. On this point he gives a rather extended contrast,<sup>285</sup> which leads him to conclude that before his fall Adam did not see God in Christ the Mediator, such sight being unnecessary in man's unfallen state.<sup>286</sup> Rollock is

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<sup>282</sup>"Effectual Calling," p. 30.

<sup>283</sup>"Epistles," (Psalm 130:5-8) pp. 478-479.

<sup>284</sup>*Colossians*, (Colossians 1:21-22) p. 80.

<sup>285</sup>The contrast includes such facts that (1) while creation occurred at only the word of God, renewal required the Incarnation and accursed death of Christ on the cross ("Epistles," [John 3:6] p. 526), (2) while the old friendship was changeable, the new friendship is unchangeable (*Colossians*, [Colossians 1:20] p. 69), (3) the glory which was in Adam's glorious earthly paradise is as nothing compared to that glory which will be ours in the heavens when our salvation is consummated (*Last Sermon*, [John 17:4-5] p. 199), (4) the heart and mind of the redeemed involves the implanting of a supernatural light which is far superior than Adam's natural light ("Effectual Calling," pp. 200-201, 230-233), (5) Christ is better than Adam, and the new birth is not so much a restoring of the image of Adam, as it is a restoring to the image of Christ, the spiritual and heavenly man (*Foedere*, p. B2; "Effectual Calling," p. 237), and (6) Christ is a far superior parent as the Second Adam, for He is holiness itself and begets men who cannot sin ("Epistles," [John 3:6] p. 525).

<sup>286</sup>"Effectual Calling," p. 201.

also led to what is commonly called the *felix culpa* notion in theology as he states:

So then, striue to beleuee in him, and certainly the fall of Adam shall be so farre from thy heart, that thou shalt blesse the time that he fell, if thou gettest this renued creature in thee, through the Lord Iesus; otherwise thou shalt curse the time that he fell.<sup>287</sup>

The believer participates both in the union of the Father and the Son<sup>288</sup> and in the death and resurrection of Christ; that is, we die with Him and are raised to new life in Him.<sup>289</sup> There is also stress on the individual's participation in the work of Christ where he applies particularly God's mercy to himself through his own personal faith in Christ.<sup>290</sup> The individual therefore is to "gripe greedlie to Iesus Christ" that He may dwell in his heart and to keep Him there finally.<sup>291</sup>

The one who is renewed in Christ wills to do good because of the sense of God's love for him. Rollock believes that the sense of the mercy of God and faith bring forth love in the heart,<sup>292</sup> more so than all the warnings of judgment and examples of God's most fearful

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<sup>287</sup>Colossians, (Colossians 3:9-10) p. 299.

<sup>288</sup>Thessalonians, ( I Thessalonians 1:1-3) I, pp. 4-5.

<sup>289</sup>"History," (John 21:18-19) p. 635.

<sup>290</sup>"Epistles," (Psalm 130:5-8) p. 480. He states that "verú fides & gratia in Christo non propagatur in posteros." *Foedere*, p. B6.

<sup>291</sup>*Last Sermon*, (John 17:25-26) pp. 268-269. He explains in a rather descriptive way, "Thou must not haue Christ to night, and bid him farewell to morrowe: But as thou hast knowne him, and receiued him, so thou must keep all his graces: thou must neuer lose him. . . . Ibid., (John 17:6-8) pp. 208-209.

<sup>292</sup>"Epistles," (I Timothy 1:14-16) p. 547.

and terrible wrath upon others.<sup>293</sup> The sinner who has tasted of God's mercy will truly cry, "Alas! that I have offended so loving and so merciful a Father," and will be given the assurance of forgiveness.<sup>294</sup> And good works are viewed as the natural effects of salvation. In fact, the end of election, of faith, and union with Christ is a sanctified and holy life consisting of good works.<sup>295</sup> Rollock also maintains that sanctification and good works are most infallible tokens of one's election and justification in the blood of Christ.<sup>296</sup>

The second creation stands immutable in the Mediator, who has made a stable bond of peace and reconciliation.

Rollock teaches his hearers that

Christ makes intercession for thee; and thy reconciliation shall stand as long as his intercession stands, which is euerlasting: therefore the friendship shall stand euerlastingly. It is a plaine blasphemie to say that a man once truly reconciled to God, can fall from grace againe: and it is as much to say as that Christ shal not continue in his intercession. So our last estate is most blessed: onely hold thy eye on thy Mediatour that makes intercession for thee, and I will assure thee thou shalt neuer be seuered from him: nay heauen and earth shall goe together ere thou be rent from that God.<sup>297</sup>

The believer's salvation is assured because of Christ's intercession and the Father's care over him until salvation is consummated.<sup>298,299</sup>

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<sup>293</sup>"History," (John 20:24-26) p. 563.

<sup>294</sup>"Epistles," (Luke 7:37-50) p. 509.

<sup>295</sup>*Last Sermon*, (John 15:1-6) p. 91.

<sup>296</sup>*Ibid.*, (John 15:7-18) pp. 106, 109-110.

<sup>297</sup>*Colossians*, (Colossians 1:20) p. 69.

<sup>298</sup>*Ibid.*, (Colossians 3:9-10) p. 297; *Last Sermon*, (John 17:6-8) p. 206; "History," (John 21:1-7) p. 582.

<sup>299</sup>In one of his lectures Rollock appears to teach just the

THE COVENANT

Of crucial importance for the understanding of Rollock's doctrine of the Mediator is his concept of the covenant, which is defined as, "Est quo Deus homini promittit aliquid boni, sub conditione certa aliqua: homo autem conditionem accipit."<sup>300</sup> In this definition it becomes apparent that for Rollock the covenant is bilateral; that is, God in mercy promises life to man but only on a certain condition. And he finds two covenants; he explains:

(Q.) Quotuplex, est foedus Dei cum homine percussum?

(R.) Duplex est; foedus naturae siue operum, & foedus gratia.  
Gal. 4:24.<sup>301</sup>

The first covenant was made with Adam in his innocence and was grounded in man's perfect nature and the fact of his being endowed with the knowledge of the Law. In this covenant of works (or nature) there was a double righteousness involved--(1) original justice with which man was

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opposite concerning the security of the believer. He states that if a believer stands in the faith he will persevere in the new friendship with God and explains, "Then ye see, it is by persevering in the faith of the Mediatour, the sticking fast by the Lord Iesus Christ, who is the Mediatour, of our reconciliation, and friendship with God: As by the contrary, so soone as a man lets the hold goe of the Mediatour, hee shall fall away from the friendship of the father; and falling, his last estate is worse then the first. If he were miserable before the reconciliation, he becomes tenne times more miserable then euer he was." *Colossians*, (Colossians 1:23) p. 89. Rollock seems to encounter this problem because he shifts his emphasis from the objective work of Christ to the believer's subjective experience.

<sup>300</sup> *Foedere*, p. A3. For Rollock every reasonable creature of God must be under a covenant. Also the angels of heaven and mankind "are under some one covenant." "Effectual Calling," pp. 51-52.

<sup>301</sup> *Foedere*, p. A3.

created, and (2) the justice of works which was to follow if man were to be declared just before God and given eternal life.<sup>302</sup> The condition of this covenant is works, and the reward is eternal life.<sup>303</sup> Once this covenant of works is broken our works cannot satisfy God,

sic etiam non potuissent Mediatoris Dei & hominis opera etiam sanctissima satisfacere iustitiae Dei, quae semel violata, necessariò deposcebat ad mortem, vel hominem ipsum peccatorem, vel certe <sup>pro</sup> eo Mediatorem, ad hoc vt Deus & iustus esset & verus.<sup>304,305</sup>

This covenant also "non indiguit Mediatore & sacrificio, quia homo non fuit peccator tam cum percussus est primum cum eo illud operum foedus."<sup>306</sup> There was no need for a Mediator because there was no breach or variance between the two parties--God and man--and therefore there was no need for reconciliation.<sup>307</sup>

Because man broke the first covenant and became estranged from God, "facta est reconciliatio percusso cū homine nouo foedere."<sup>308</sup> The covenant of grace is evangelical, teaching us both who the Mediator is and what

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<sup>302</sup>"Effectual Calling," pp. 34-35. This Covenant was written in man's hearts before it was ever expressed verbally. *Foedere*, p. A4.

<sup>303</sup>*Foedere*, pp. A3-A4; "Effectual Calling," p. 35.

<sup>304</sup>*Foedere*, p. Q7.

<sup>305</sup>This Covenant serves (1) to save unfallen man and (2) to condemn sinful man. *Ibid.*, p. A5; "Effectual Calling," pp. 46-47.

<sup>306</sup>*Foedere*, p. B7.

<sup>307</sup>"Effectual Calling," pp. 34-35.

<sup>308</sup>*Foedere*, p. B.

He has done for us.<sup>309</sup> This Covenant is grounded in God's free grace, not nature or any goodness in man and upon the Mediator, whereby man is reconciled to God.<sup>310</sup> It is stated that Jesus Christ is the ground, absolutely considered, without any respect of application from us. But He is the condition of the covenant as He is applied unto us and must be embraced by faith, "for every condition is of a future thing to be done."<sup>311</sup>

Although the covenant of grace is called a free covenant, because God freely promises both righteousness and life, "freely" does not exclude all condition, but only that which is in the covenant of works--works done by the strength of nature--which condition cannot stand with God's free grace.<sup>312</sup> The condition, which alone will stand with God's free grace, is faith because it is His free gift, having Christ as its first object and God's free mercy in Christ as its second object.<sup>313</sup> Rollock clarifies his meaning when he writes:

Volo: nam quae est conditio in foedere gratuito, eadem est causa iustificationis hominis, hoc est, impletionis promissae in foedere gratiae: sola autem fides iustificat, hoc est, solus Christus fide apprehensus: Ergo sola fides conditio foederis gratuiti.<sup>314</sup>

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<sup>309</sup>"Effectual Calling," p. 44. Rollock emphasizes concerning this covenant that "meritum est respectu Christi Mediatoris, idipsum mera gratia est respectu nostri." *Foedere*, p. B3.

<sup>310</sup>*Foedere*, p. B1; "Effectual Calling," p. 38.

<sup>311</sup>"Effectual Calling," pp. 40-41.

<sup>312</sup>*Ibid.*, p. 39.

<sup>313</sup>*Ibid.*, p. 40; T. F. Torrance, "Baptism," p. 23.

<sup>314</sup>*Foedere*, p. B3. Cf. T. F. Torrance, "Baptism," p. 23; "Effectual Calling," p. 40.

Therefore, the covenant of grace is defined as "quo Deus promittit homini iustitiam & vitam aeternam, sub conditione fidei in Christum Mediatorem: Homo autem conditionem accipit, & recipit se crediturum."<sup>315,316</sup>

Also concerning these two covenants Rollock asserts that the first drives men to a sense of sin and misery while the second picks up humbled men by revealing to them the great promises of the Gospel.<sup>317</sup> And while those in Christ are in the covenant of grace for their justification or redemption, they are still under the covenant of works in so far as their nature remains unregenerate.<sup>318</sup> The Law reveals the "works of grace and regeneration" which are required of believers as duties and testimonies of their thankfulness to God.<sup>319</sup> The covenant of works serves to stir believers up to faith and godliness and makes them labour for their sanctification that they may bring forth the fruits of the Spirit; this activity seems to be a sort of moralistic sanctification which testifies of the believer's obedience, but it is clearly separated from Christ's completed work in the

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<sup>315</sup>*Foedere*, p. B1.

<sup>316</sup>Rollock also teaches concerning this covenant that (1) it promises righteousness because of the imputation of Christ's righteousness (*Foedere*, p. B7; "Effectual Calling," p. 39), and (2) though there were severe consequences for violation of the first covenant, there are far worse results for violation of the second; "nullum tertium foedus quaerendum." *Foedere*, p. B6-B7).

<sup>317</sup>*Foedere*, p. A5; "Effectual Calling," pp. 43-44.

<sup>318</sup>"Effectual Calling," pp. 47-48, 50, 52; T. F. Torrance, "Baptism," p. 23.

<sup>319</sup>"Effectual Calling," p. 45; *Foedere*, p. B8.



believer's behalf.<sup>320,321</sup>

Because Christ is the substance of the New Covenant, He is the fulfillment of the Old Testament; all types and figures of the Old Testament, including the words of Moses regarding the paschal lamb, were perfected and accomplished in Him.<sup>322</sup> Rollock also insists that the faithful of the Old Testament embraced Christ the Mediator of the covenant of grace, and their justification in Him was perfect though they embraced Him in shadows, types, and figures.<sup>323</sup> It is also asserted that before the Incarnation the love of the Father had appeared to

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<sup>320</sup>T. F. Torrance, "Baptism," p. 33; *Foedere*, p. B4.

<sup>321</sup>Concerning the relationship of Christ to the covenant of works, Rollock explains that "there be two natures in Christ, a divine and human. Christ, as he is God and the Son of God, is not under the covenant of works or of grace; for that he is no creature, but the blessed Creator, to whom to those covenant and law, every creature is and must be subject. But as he is man, he is under the covenant of works; and that in two respects. First, in respect of himself, because he is a creature, because he is a servant, and made man, and was in the loins of Adam when that covenant of works was first made with him. But we be to speak sparingly of that state of man Christ, which is in respect of Christ himself, whether that his human nature, as touching itself, were under the covenant of works? whether this nature did purchase for itself life eternal by observation of the covenant of works? Next I say, the human nature of Christ is under the covenant of works in respect of us; for being united to that divine nature, it is become a mediator for us, to make intercession and peace between God offended and man offending." "Effectual Calling," p. 52. Rollock also explains that Christ was not under the covenant of grace because it was made in Him and established in His blood for the sake of those in sin. *Ibid.*, p. 55.

<sup>322</sup>"History," (Matthew 27:57; Mark 15:42-43; Luke 23:50; John 19:38) p. 294.

<sup>323</sup>"Effectual Calling," p. 46.

the godly, but at the Incarnation it manifested itself more brightly than before, for all the love of God before was in Christ to come, but now the love of God has fully "kythit the self" in greater abundance.<sup>324</sup>

#### THE SUBJECTIVE ASPECT

In Rollock's teaching on salvation there is a rather strong stress on the subjective awareness which is to be produced within the believer. Faith is said to be wrought and confirmed in the soul by the senses<sup>325</sup> and is spoken of as "that feeling of the grace of God."<sup>326</sup> He also stresses the joy, good conscience, rest, and peace which the believer is made to possess,<sup>327</sup> through the working of the Holy Spirit.<sup>328</sup> And it is stated that all the knowledge of God and all the faith exercised in Christ tend to the one end, that God may love us and we may feel in our hearts the love of God.<sup>329</sup> This joy worked in the hearts of God's elect is held forth as a sure argument and an infallible demonstration that Christ is reigning in the heavens.<sup>330</sup> Therefore, Rollock is not content for one

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<sup>324</sup>"Epistles," (Titus 3:3-7) pp. 441-442.

<sup>325</sup>"History," (Luke 24:37-41; John 20:20) p. 497.

<sup>326</sup>*Last Sermon*, (John 17:6-8) p. 208.

<sup>327</sup>*Ibid.*, (John 15:7-14) pp. 102, 104; "History," (Luke 24:47) p. 522.

<sup>328</sup>*Last Sermon*, (John 16:22-27) p. 154; (John 17:6-8) p. 206.

<sup>329</sup>*Ibid.*, (John 17:25-26) p. 266.

<sup>330</sup>"History," (Mark 16:20; Luke 24:52-53; Acts 1:10-14) p. 697.

"to gette Christ in the heart;" He must be sensibly felt also.<sup>331</sup> In fact, he states that this life of Christ is the most sensible thing in the world, as sensibly perceived as the natural life.<sup>332</sup> Rollock further argues that "all these outward graces of God, will neuer auaille thee to life and saluation, if thou gettest not the inward feeling of them in thine heart, before thou be taken out of this life." And when we are given a feeling of grace in the heart, then our election is sealed, and we are assured that we have been given eternal life.<sup>333</sup>

There is also a strong stress on the human responses to the grace of God. He insists that unless Christ is received by faith, we cannot be profited by Him unto salvation and life.<sup>334</sup> This faith, which must be offered individually,<sup>335</sup> is described as "that whereby every believer doth particularly, not only assent to that promise that is true in itself, but also apprehends with the heart the promised thing, and applies it properly to himself."<sup>336</sup> The cause why man believes is God's own grace which implants within man this faith which is given with His Word and kindled by His free grace and love in

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<sup>331</sup> *Last Sermon*, (John 17:6-8) p. 210.

<sup>332</sup> *Ibid.*, (John 15:1-6) p. 87.

<sup>333</sup> *Ibid.*, (John 17:6-8) pp. 208-209. Cf. *Thessalonians*, (I Thessalonians 5:8-10) I, p. 262; "History," (Matthew 27:46) pp. 234-235 and (John 19:34-37) p. 283.

<sup>334</sup> "Effectual Calling," p. 40.

<sup>335</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 215.

<sup>336</sup> *Ibid.*

Jesus Christ.<sup>337</sup> But it is not accurate to describe man as only a dead tree, for in him there is a "passive power to receive that divine grace and life of God, as also the use of reason which dead trees have not." Rollock explains:

In this second grace, which is the action or work of faith, we stand not as mere passively; but being moved by the Holy Ghost, we work ourselves; as being stirred up to believe, we believe; and, in a word, we work with God's Spirit working in us.<sup>338</sup>

Although Rollock does appear to intellectualize faith,<sup>339</sup> he does present a rather thoroughly-reasoned treatment of faith and all it involves. It is the "earnest-pennie of salvation,"<sup>340</sup> and the beginnings of grace because it joins one to God through Christ in a most sweet conjunction whereby he shares in the benefits of Christ.<sup>341</sup>

Following faith, as the effect follows the cause, is repentance.<sup>342</sup> The man who believes in Christ will most surely repent and detest his sin which has offended God.<sup>343</sup> Repentance is defined as "an after-wit, after the deed and evil committed, and a sorrow, because God is offended, and from that sorrow a certain change of the whole mind from evil unto good,"<sup>344</sup> and is described as

<sup>337</sup>Ibid., p. 30.

<sup>338</sup>Ibid., pp. 31-32.

<sup>339</sup>T. F. Torrance, "Baptism," p. 23.

<sup>340</sup>*Last Sermon*, , (John 17:6-8) pp. 208-209.

<sup>341</sup>*Thessalonians*, (I Thessalonians 1:1-3) I, p. 10.

<sup>342</sup>"Effectual Calling," p. 238.

<sup>343</sup>"Epistles," (Luke 7:37-50) pp. 508-509.

<sup>344</sup>"Effectual Calling," p. 244.

a preparation of the soul to receive remission of sins, salvation, and everlasting life, by making straight the ways of the Lord, who is coming with grace and mercy to the soul.<sup>345</sup> It is the contrite heart in which God takes pleasure and where Christ dwells by faith.<sup>346</sup> And although there is no sin too great for God to give grace if a person repents,<sup>347</sup> Rollock warns that

neither grace nor glory pertains unto impenitent sinners who lie like swine in sin, and delight in sin: but only to all penitent sinners, where sin abounds, grace and mercy superabound, and that in the blood of Jesus Christ.<sup>348,349</sup>

### THE CHURCH

In his order of the various elements of theology Rollock places the Church and the Sacraments as "supplementary to all these subjects of the blessings of God in Christ."<sup>350</sup> The Kirk is the spouse of Christ,<sup>351</sup> and is "a societie of men and women seuered from the rest of the world by the presence of that holie Spirit, whereby they are sealed."<sup>352</sup> The Kirk exists that in this society and conjunction of the saints in the earth the glory of

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<sup>345</sup>"History," (Luke 24:47) pp. 521-522.

<sup>346</sup>*Psalms*, (Psalm 51) p. 343.

<sup>347</sup>*Colossians*, (Colossians 3:5-7) p. 271.

<sup>348</sup>"History," (Luke 24:47) p. 526.

<sup>349</sup>Repentance is produced in the heart by the Holy Spirit. "Effectual Calling," pp. 241-242, 249. As to order he insists that "remission of sins follows, and applies grace to the soul prepared with repentance." "History," (Luke 24:47) pp. 521-522.

<sup>350</sup>"Effectual Calling," pp. 233-234

<sup>351</sup>"Epistles," (II Corinthians 4:3-5) p. 402.

<sup>352</sup>*Last Sermon*, (John 16:13-22) p. 148.

the Father might shine.<sup>353</sup>

The Church is the body of Christ and is perfect in Him as her head.<sup>354</sup> As the head Christ is the absolute Lord of the Church, and the Church is subject to Him and His Lordship alone. It also means that Christ is "most streightly ioyned with the bodie his Church, in such a union that all the powers in heaven and earth cannot sever."<sup>355</sup> As the body of Christ the Church shares His life,<sup>356</sup> is sanctified in Him,<sup>357</sup> and "fils up the whole man Christ,"<sup>358</sup> accomplishing and fulfilling His sufferings.<sup>359</sup> And because the Church is the body of Christ there is a unity of all the members in Him.<sup>360</sup>

Since the sufficiency of grace is given not to one member but to the whole body, there is the necessity for the whole body in order that the good and salvation of each individual member might be achieved.<sup>361</sup> In

<sup>353</sup> Ibid., (John 17:22-24) p. 251.

<sup>354</sup> *Thessalonians*, (I Thessalonians 5:11-13) I, p. 271.

<sup>355</sup> *Colossians*, (Colossians 1:18-19) pp. 56-57. Rollock insists that "the Lord hath not translated this authority to any creature: and therefore, the Pope hath but an usurped authority." *Last Sermon*, (John 17:2-3) p. 186.

<sup>356</sup> *Colossians*, (Colossians 1:18-19) p. 57.

<sup>357</sup> *Last Sermon*, (John 16:13-22) p. 147.

<sup>358</sup> *Colossians*, (Colossians 1:18-19) pp. 57-58.

<sup>359</sup> Ibid., (Colossians 1:24-25) pp. 99-100.

<sup>360</sup> *Last Sermon*, (John 17:22-24) pp. 248-249; "History," (Mark 16:13-14; Luke 24:33-36; John 20:19) p. 483; *Thessalonians*, (I Thessalonians 4:3-6) I, p. 175.

<sup>361</sup> "Epistles," (Philippians 1:18-26) pp. 421-422. It is asserted that "all spiritual graces are acquired and entertained only

almost the same manner as Augustine Rollock proclaims to his listeners, "This is plaine. Either thou shalt be in the Church, which is the communion of the Saints of God, or else thou shalt neuer see Gods presence."<sup>362</sup> Apart from the Church there is no salvation, or life,<sup>363</sup> but only eternal gloom and damnation.<sup>364,365</sup>

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in the society of the saints; and without this society no faith, hope, joy, nor grace of Christ can be gotten or entertained,--all grace that is given a man is given to him as a member of that body, as to one of the saints." "History," (Mark 16:20; Luke 24:52-53; Acts 1:10-14) pp. 699-700.

<sup>362</sup> *Thessalonians*, (I Thessalonians 3:13-4:3) I, p. 155.

<sup>363</sup> *Colossians*, (Colossians 1:1-6) p. 7.

<sup>364</sup> *Ibid.*, (Colossians 1:20) p. 72.

<sup>365</sup> Also concerning the Church Rollock insists that (1) the curse of God follows anyone who cuts himself off from the Church and disdains the society of the saints (*Ibid.*, [Colossians 2:1-3] p. 134), (2) the man who is joined first with Christ and secondly in the communion of the saints is truly blessed (*Ibid.*, [Colossians 1:1-6] p. 7), (3) "there is nothing more beautifull to the spirituall eye, than the Church of Christ; howsoever she seems to be vile in this world" (*Ibid.*, [Colossians 2:4-7] p. 145), (4) especially in the union of the members of His body upon the earth is the glory of Christ manifested before the world (*Last Sermon*, [John 17:16-21] p. 245), (5) God never leaves the Church without His presence (*Last Sermon*, [John 16:13-22] p. 148), (6) and causes her to persevere even when many wolves circle around her; thus there will always remain a Church upon the earth until Christ returns (*Psalms*, [Psalm 6] p. 66), (7) As the lively voice of God the Scripture is so necessary that without it there can be no Church on the earth, either as to its very existence or as to its well-being ("Effectual Calling," pp. 88-90), (8) the state and the Church are joined by creation and should assist one another; hence the state should never seek to destroy the Church, nor should the Church rise up against the state (*Charteris*, p. LXXIX). But there is a difference in the authority given to each. Although the state is given a part of the authority of Christ, none of His authority is given to the Church, at least in the same sense (*Last Sermon*, [John 17:2-3] p. 186).



There is no authority in the Church which does not come from Christ; all is founded on Him. In particular, it is from the kingly authority of Christ that the preaching of the Gospel, the ministry of the sacraments, and the discipline of the Church all proceed.<sup>366</sup> The authority of the minister is one which proceeds in a special way from Christ. As the Son represented His father as an ambassador to the world, so are ministers the representatives of the person of Christ.<sup>367</sup>

### THE SACRAMENTS

In his teaching on the sacraments Rollock appears as an evangelical preacher in the Reformation tradition, rather than as a sometimes-speculative theologian. In his sermons baptism is set "in the context of God's abounding love, which freely and undeservedly flows to us through Christ."<sup>368</sup> In the sacraments<sup>369</sup> there is promised

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<sup>366</sup> *Last Sermon*, (John 17:2-3) p. 186.

<sup>367</sup> Rollock further maintains that (1) "the obedience or disobedience, and contempt of the pastor, redound directly to the Son and the Father and the Son counts it to be done to himself and to the Father" ("History," [John 20:21-23] p. 540), (2) God uses the ministry to make light shine out of darkness (Ibid., [Luke 24:48-49] p. 531 and to dispense the divine mysteries to the people ("Epistles," [II Corinthians 5:16-18] pp. 362-263), (3) the ministry is essential because no one is saved apart from the preaching of the Word which produces faith ("History," [Luke 24:48-49] p. 528), (4) the greatest honour possible is to have the Gospel of Jesus Christ committed to one's charge, an honour of which no flesh or the angels of heaven are worthy ("Epistles," [I Timothy 1:12-14] pp. 530-531), and (5) the minister has two responsibilities--to preach the Word and to minister the sacraments. He is not authorized to offer a sacrifice or perform as a priest in making atonement for sins ("History," [Matthew 28:16-19; Mark 16:15] p. 661.

<sup>368</sup> T. F. Torrance, "Baptism," pp. 23-24.

<sup>369</sup> The sacraments are defined in terms of a ceremony with a

to us an image of Christ,<sup>370</sup> for in them God has promised to give Himself if they are rightly received.<sup>371</sup> God gives Himself in the sacraments because they are grounded on what Christ has already accomplished in His humanity on our behalf. In baptism the Spirit comes from God but through Christ our Saviour and on the basis of His costly redemption in shedding His blood for us.<sup>372</sup>

Baptism is said to crucify the body, burying one's sinful nature,<sup>373</sup> and to minister the resurrection of Christ by raising up the body of him that is baptized to life.<sup>374</sup> And it is described as the laver of regeneration or the washing of the new birth, cleansing us both inwardly and outwardly.<sup>375</sup> And in some sense baptism is necessary for salvation; that is, it must not be either contemned or neglected.<sup>376</sup>

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visible sign containing an element such as the bread and the wine in the Lord's Supper ("Effectual Calling," p. 248). Rollock writes, "Now we have daily in our Sacraments of Baptism and the Lord's Supper, outward signs of this water and this blood whereby they are outwardly represented to our eyes. In the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper, we have the sign of the blood, in the Sacrament of Baptism, we have the sign of the water ; and, therefore, the blood and the water remain ever in the earth as witnesses, testifying that Christ is come, and they are represented to us in these outward signs and symbols in the Sacraments" ("History," [John 19:34-37] p. 283.

<sup>370</sup>"Effectual Calling," p. 196.

<sup>371</sup>"Epistles," (Titus 3:3-7) p. 445.

<sup>372</sup>T. F. Torrance, "Baptism," pp. 23-24.

<sup>373</sup>Colossians, (Colossians 2:11-12) p. 168.

<sup>374</sup>Ibid., pp. 169-170.

<sup>375</sup>"Epistles," (Titus 3:3-7) p. 444; T. F. Torrance, "Baptism," p. 24.

<sup>376</sup>Ibid. Rollock explains that baptism is not simply and

The sacraments are viewed as means whereby the power mediated through the humanity of Christ is exercised on the earth as a counterpart of that power in heaven.<sup>377</sup> Therefore, Rollock exhorts his hearers, "have thy eie ay on (=have thine eye still on) baptisme, for it is ane mein quhairby the Lord will save thee."<sup>378,379</sup> Baptism is joined with faith in Christ (Mark 16:16) and must follow faith, so that he who believes should wish to be baptized.<sup>380</sup>

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absolutely necessary to salvation; that is, in case a man "contemn it nor, nor neglect it, he may be saved without it. It is the contempt, and not the want of it, that hurts a man: for a man may be ingrafted in Christ by faith, and may be saved by Christ, without the seal of baptism; for the grace of God is not so bound and tied to the ordinary mean and outward helps, but that the Lord may work without them and when he pleases." "History," (Matthew 28:20; Mark 16:16-18) p. 670. He further explains that the cause of damnation is given as unbelief, never as want of baptism. Ibid., (Matthew 28:16-19; Mark 16:15) p. 622; T. F. Torrance, "Baptism," p. 24.

<sup>377</sup>T. F. Torrance, "Baptism," p. 24.

<sup>378</sup>"Epistles," (Titus 3:3-7) p. 445.

<sup>379</sup>Baptism is joined with the preaching of the Word. Since teaching and baptizing were committed to the same persons, it follows that he who cannot preach has no authority to baptize. Accordingly before baptism is administered the Word must first be preached with the covenant of grace and the glad tidings of salvation presented, and then baptism is to be administered to seal up the Word and the Covenant (T. F. Torrance, "Baptism," p. 24). In the sacraments the Word is co-joined that it may both reveal the meaning of the sign and confirm faith in men's hearts to the end that the sacrament may be powerful and effectual in them; "for the outward sign alone is not able to work faith in the soul, but it is the word chiefly that works faith." It is the Word which is the life of the sacrament, and unless the Word is joined with the outward sign, it cannot be a true and effectual sacrament ("History," [John 20:21-23] p. 542). Rollock therefore adamantly states that "except the preaching of the covenant of grace precede, baptism is nothing but an unprofitable ceremony and a dead element" (Ibid., [Matthew 16:19; Mark 16:15] p. 662).

<sup>380</sup>T. F. Torrance, "Baptism," p. 24.

Baptism is not joined with faith as a cause of salvation, but as a sign or an outward mark to testify and bear witness of the cause, which is faith in Jesus Christ.<sup>381</sup> Because baptism has no force without faith, the Papists are seen to be in error with their doctrine of *opus operatum*.<sup>382</sup> The force of baptism, however, when rightly received, is with the believer for the whole of his life, never leaving him, since it does not stand in the administration of the action only.<sup>383</sup> Furthermore, one should keep his baptism ever before him so that it can continually be powerful in him to the mortification of sin.<sup>384</sup>

#### CRITICISMS OF THE ROMAN CATHOLIC CHURCH

As with his Scottish colleagues Rollock directs his harshest words toward the Roman Catholic Church of his day.<sup>385</sup> He states that the Papists deceive themselves and the whole world by seeking a way to heaven other than Christ,<sup>386</sup> that is, by man's own works and merits and

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<sup>381</sup>"History," (Matthew 28:20; Mark 16:16-18) pp. 669-670.

<sup>382</sup>*Colossians*, (Colossians 2:11-12) p. 170.

<sup>383</sup>*Ibid.*, p. 170; "Effectual Calling," pp. 248-249; "Epistles," (Titus 3:3-7) p. 445; T. F. Torrance, "Baptism," p. 24.

<sup>384</sup>*Colossians*, (Colossians 2:11-12) pp. 168-169.

<sup>385</sup>He describes the Roman Church as the "false Church" (*Thessalonians*, [I Thessalonians 3:13-4:3] I, p. 155), with a corrupt and adulterous voice which teaches "lies, errors, and infinite heresies" ("Effectual Calling," p. 88). He also refers to the Pope as the "beast of Rome, the Roman Antichrist" ("History," [John 18: 28-32] pp. 61-63).

<sup>386</sup>In much the same way as the Jews in the time of Christ, the Papists are said to be in blindness because (1) they do not see how nature is plainly lost in sanctity, (2) they do not know the

through the mediation of angels and saints departed.<sup>387</sup>

They detract from the one perfect sacrifice of Christ by teaching that Christ has only removed by His death our eternal punishment, and the godly must suffer temporal punishments for their sins either in this world or in Purgatory.<sup>388</sup> In rebuking the Papists for their doctrine which maintains that Christ suffered no inward pain in the soul, Rollock argues:

They know not what sin is. They know not what is the greatness of the evil of sin, or the justice of God; and lastly, they know not what is the mercy of Jesus Christ. In a word, I proclaim, both before God and his angels, the Pope and his shavelings are open enemies to the cross of Christ, if it were but in this, that they take away the chief part of his suffering. Be thou a Papist, if thou continuest in that fantasy, thou shalt never have no part nor portion in his suffering.<sup>389,390</sup>

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sole grace and mercy of God nor the excellency of Christ's merit, (3) they do not perceive that the covenant of works is abolished for them which are in Christ, in respect to justification, (4) they do not conceive "that the only covenant of grace is made with mankind after the fall, specially now after the incarnation in the gospel, and that unto justification and life eternal," (5) instead of seeing the works of free-will, as they call them, as testimonies of thankfulness, they ascribe special merit unto them and teach that they are to be performed by the strength of nature. They greatly err in trying to mix the grace of God with the works of nature which can never stand together ("Effectual Calling," pp. 58-59).

<sup>387</sup>*Last Sermon*, (John 14:3-6) pp. 17-18.

<sup>388</sup>*Psalms*, (Psalm 6) pp. 39-40.

<sup>389</sup>"History," (Matthew 27:45-46; Mark 15:33-34; Luke 23:44-45) p. 224.

<sup>390</sup>Rollock also argues that the Papists err in saying that human affection causes the remission of sins ("Epistles," [Luke 7:37-50] p. 508), and instead of resting in the perfect righteousness of Christ, quieting themselves in what they see as their own inherent righteousness (*Psalms*, [Psalm 51] p. 371). They also err doubly in the matter of free will because first they see some sanctify and integrity remaining in the will of the regenerate man after the fall, and secondly they see the will as having the power to choose the good and cause holiness ("Effectual Calling," p. 258). Added to all these false doctrines is their blasphemous teaching, which is a lie against the Holy Ghost, "that a man once sanctified may become unsanctified" (*Last Sermon*, [John 15:1-6] p. 86).

He also discusses the Roman Catholic division of penance materially into contrition, confession, and satisfaction, pertaining to the acts of the penitents in the Romanist sacrament. (1) He argues that contrition is a sorrow of heart but refuses to attribute to it any merit as do the Papists. (2) He sees confession not as properly a part of repentance, but as an outward sign which is wrought inwardly in the mind. He maintains, furthermore, that it is not the will of God for man's private sins to be confessed before other human beings, for He covers them with His mercy when He embraces one in Christ Jesus. (3) And he utterly condemns and renounces satisfaction because attributing merit to one's own acts derogates from the merit and satisfaction of Christ, which alone satisfies the wrath and justice of God for sinners.<sup>391</sup>

In like manner Rollock describes the Romanist teaching on transubstantiation as a damnable doctrine because Christ's physical body and blood are not present and partaken of bodily as they profess, but sacramentally and spiritually.<sup>392</sup> The Mass is seen as a "devilish sacrifice" because in it the priests deceive the world by making men believe they are offering up Christ again as a propitiatory sacrifice to the Father for the sins of the living and the dead.<sup>393</sup>

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<sup>391</sup>"Effectual Calling," pp. 250-251.

<sup>392</sup>"History," (Luke 24:37-41; John 20:20) p. 497.

<sup>393</sup>Ibid., (Matthew 28:16-19; Mark 16:15) p. 661.



SUMMARY

Presenting Rollock's doctrine of the Mediator in a systematic or dogmatic fashion is greatly complicated by the tension between his evangelical preaching and his more speculative theology. As a preacher he can proclaim the free grace of God mediated through the man Christ Jesus to the whole world. But as a theologian he operates within the bounds of a more rationalistic scheme, similar in many respects to Augustine, giving long pointed listings in a scholastic manner and showing concern over the "decrees" and the problem of predestination.

In particular he seems to have been responsible for the passing of three great tendencies into Scottish theology--the federal scheme of salvation, the moralizing of the Christian life, and the intellectualizing of faith.<sup>394</sup> At least part of the reason for these tendencies is that he appears to interpret the Incarnation in the light of the Covenant instead of the Covenant in the light of the Incarnation. Thus he sees two covenants, rigidly separated, and a need for a mediator only when the first covenant is broken and as a remedy for sin. Therefore the stress falls on the drama of redemption rather than on the Person of Christ.

Along with this emphasis on the saga of redemption is a strong teaching on the legal or forensic aspects of the work of Christ which seems to detract from the great Biblical stress on the filial adoption to sonship in Christ.

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<sup>394</sup>T. F. Torrance, "Baptism," p. 23.



For Rollock it is the death of Christ, which appeases the wrath of God, that is all important, and the perfect life of obedient sonship is minimized in its significance. And the vicarious, representative humanity of Christ, whereby the Mediator stands in a twofold capacity representing men before God and God before men, seems to be largely overlooked. Also the doctrine of union with Christ appears to be in some hazy area between being the cause or being the product of salvation.

For Rollock the covenants are bilateral. God makes a covenant with man but it is not valid unless man performs his obligations or the conditions of the covenants. Forgiveness appears, then, to be entirely dependent on man's repentance and sorrow for sin, which is conditional grace, or as Rollock calls it, free grace which does not exclude conditions.

Rather than focusing on who Christ is and what He has accomplished vicariously in our humanity, Rollock's chief question appears to be the much more anthropocentric one--how can I be saved? This concern is revealed by the order of the elements of theology where man and sin are placed before the Person and Work of Christ. Issuing from this anthropocentricity and inordinate interest in the appropriation of salvation by man, is Rollock's emphasis on the subjective awareness, the conscience, or the inward feeling of the believer. He sees the inward quality as being an intrinsic part of the graces bestowed on man by God. Even in his lectures on Christ there is much exhortation

and pointing to the response of the believer. And for assurance the individual is also pointed inward to ascertain whether or not he has the fruits of election. This subjective stress seems to detract strongly from the teaching of the Reformers on the objective Person and Work of Christ, who has done all that God requires from man, which brings great comfort to the soul.

## CHAPTER V

### GEORGE GILLESPIE

Few men can be said to have rivalled the influence exerted by George Gillespie (1613-1648)<sup>1</sup>--as a theologian, pastor, and Church statesman--on the theology of the Reformed Church in Scotland during the Westminster Period. He is described as one of the most remarkable men of that singularly fertile period in which he lived,<sup>2</sup> and as a man who possessed a personal piety which was of the most elevated and spiritual character. He is also said to have been eminent in systematic theology;<sup>3</sup> he is even regarded by some as having been the prince of Scottish theologians.<sup>4</sup> Certainly he was a rare individual in whom the greatest piety and highest scholarship met.<sup>5</sup> But it appears that Gillespie has not been given the attention his character and work deserve, and many of his writings still remain

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<sup>1</sup>Alexander Gordon, "Gillespie, George," *Dictionary of National Biography*, 1890, XXI, p. 359.

<sup>2</sup>W. M. Hetherington, "Memoir of the Rev. George Gillespie," in *The Works of Mr. George Gillespie, Minister of Edinburgh, and One of the Commissioners From Scotland to the Westminster Assembly, 1644*, collected by W. M. Hetherington, I (Edinburgh: Robert Ogle and Oliver and Boyd, 1846), p. IX.

<sup>3</sup>*Ibid.*, p. XXVIII.

<sup>4</sup>Walker, p. 13.

<sup>5</sup>Hetherington, p. XXVIII.

untouched on dusty library shelves.<sup>6</sup>

THE MAN, HIS LIFE, AND CONTRIBUTIONS TO SCOTLAND

Gillespie studied at the university in St. Andrews where at a very young age he became known for his remarkable powers in debate.<sup>7</sup> He is said to have been grave and bold,<sup>8</sup> and to have showed evidences of an elevation of tone and genuineness of religious nature.<sup>9</sup> In all his transactions he proved himself to be far above all private or discreditable intrigue.<sup>10</sup> And it is wrong to regard him as having an illiberal mind<sup>11</sup> or as having been only a controversialist,<sup>12</sup> for while he was certainly opposed to the kind of toleration which perpetuated division and error, he was not adverse to "a mutual endeavour for a happy accommodation."<sup>13</sup> He was often called "Great Mr. Gillespie,"<sup>14</sup> and at Westminster, where he was admired for his logical powers and pointed speech, it was said of him, "There is no standing before this great

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<sup>6</sup>Unfortunately Gillespie's memory appears to have been unfairly treated by many of far less stature (Hetherington, p. XXX), partly because he is often confused with his brother Patrick, in both his works and actions such as corresponding with the Sectaries (Ibid., pp. XXXI-XXXII). See, for example, Cook, *History of the Church of Scotland*.

<sup>7</sup>Alexander Gordon, "Gillespie," p. 360.

<sup>8</sup>Hetherington, p. XXXVII.

<sup>9</sup>Alexander Gordon, "Gillespie," p. 360.

<sup>10</sup>Hetherington, p. XXXII.

<sup>11</sup>Alexander Gordon, "Gillespie," p. 360.

<sup>12</sup>Hetherington, p. XXVI.

<sup>13</sup>Alexander Gordon, "Gillespie," p. 360.

<sup>14</sup>Walker, p. 14.

and mighty man."<sup>15</sup>

Most of Gillespie's works were written in the midst of controversy,<sup>16</sup> but they seem to be free of disfiguring by the *odium theologicum*.<sup>17</sup> They display a mental clarity<sup>18</sup> with a terseness and vivacity which is very different from many of his contemporaries, although on occasion he can overwork his arguments.<sup>19</sup> His first work, entitled "Dispute Against the English Popish Ceremonies" (1637) dazzled and astonished his countrymen by its display of learning and genius, especially by a previously unknown author.<sup>20</sup> Written while he was only twenty-three, it brought him to the forefront of the polemic divines of his age<sup>21</sup> because it constituted a very timely encounter to the arguments employed by the prelatie party in imposing the Liturgy upon the Church.<sup>22</sup> Also his *Nihil Respondes* and his *Male Audis*, though brief and aimed at the Erastians, are among his best works. But his grand work and the *chef d'oeuvre* of Scot-

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<sup>15</sup>Alexander Gordon, "Gillespie," p. 360.

<sup>16</sup>Ibid., p. 360.

<sup>17</sup>Walker, p. 14.

<sup>18</sup>Macleod, p. 80.

<sup>19</sup>Walker, p. 14.

<sup>20</sup>Hetherington, p. IX.

<sup>21</sup>Macleod, p. 79.

<sup>22</sup>Hetherington, p. XVI. Walker (p. 13) comments concerning this work, "I do not suppose that from the pen of so young a man there has ever appeared in our country a work of more consummate learning."

tish ecclesiastical theology is his "Aaron's Rod Blossoming . . .,"<sup>23</sup> which he was called upon to write in answer to Prynne's (an Erastian) notion of excommunication and suspension.<sup>24</sup> It was written, while the Westminster Assembly was in session, to defend the freedom of the Church in carrying out the will of its Head and Lord."<sup>25</sup> Another work which is attributed to Gillespie by the best sources,<sup>26</sup>

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<sup>23</sup>Walker, p. 13.

<sup>24</sup>George Gillespie, "Aaron's Rod Blossoming, or, The Divine Ordinance of Church Government Vindicated; So as the Present Erastian Controversy Concerning the Distinction of Civil and Ecclesiastical Government, Excommunication and Suspension, is Fully Debated and Discussed. From the Holy Scripture, From the Jewish and Christian Antiquities, From the Consent of Later Writers, From the True Nature and Rights of Magistracy, and From the Groundlessness of the Chief Objections Made Against the Presbyterian Government, in Point of a Dominering Arbitrary Unlimited Power," in *The Works of Mr. George Gillespie, Minister of Edinburgh, and One of the Commissioners From Scotland to the Westminster Assembly, 1644*, collected by W. M. Hetherington, II (Edinburgh: Robert Ogle, and Oliver and Boyd, 1844), p. XV (Hereafter designated as "Rod").

<sup>25</sup>Macleod, p. 80. For a careful evaluation of Gillespie's skill in this work, see Hetherington, p. XXV.

<sup>26</sup>The following sources attribute the authorship to Patrick Gillespie:

- (1) The catalogue of the New College Library, University of Edinburgh.
- (2) The catalogue of the National Library of Scotland.
- (3) Halkeith and Laing, *A Dictionary of Anonymous and Pseudonymous English Literature* (London: Oliver & Boyd, 1926), Vol. I, p. 140.
- (4) George W. Sprott, "Gillespie, Patrick," *Dictionary of National Biography*, 1890, XXI, p. 363.
- (5) James Walker, *The Theology and Theologians of Scotland*.

But the following sources attribute the authorship to George Gillespie:

- (1) British Museum, *Catalogue of Printed Books*, 1965, Volume VI, column 1130.
- (2) Alexander Gordon, "Gillespie, George," *Dictionary of National Biography*, 1890, XXI, pp. 360-361.
- (3) Donald Wing, *Short-title Catalogue of Books . . . 1641-1700* (New Haven, Connecticut: Yale University Press, 1972) Vol. I.

In a personal letter to the author the British Library explained that they could not validate the attribution to George Gillespie since their copy of the work was destroyed by bombing during the last war. However, this consideration of George Gillespie assumes the British Museum's listing to be correct.

is *The Ark of the Testament Opened*. . . . The author of this work, listed only as "a Minister of the New Testament," intentionally withheld his name,<sup>27</sup> but it appears to have been the work of George Gillespie, though published posthumously by his brother Patrick.<sup>28,29</sup> While the arguments and analogies may be sometimes strained, it is one of the most elaborate treatments ever written on the concept of the Covenant in Federal Calvinism and gives one an unusually good understanding of this concept in the Westminster Period.

Gillespie was one of eight men who were named by the General Assembly to be Scottish Commissioners to the Westminster Assembly.<sup>30</sup> He was the youngest member of the divines who met at Westminster (thirty-one the first year), but because of his prestige as a disputant, he was closely associated with the details of the systematizing work.<sup>31</sup> And it is said that in all the numerous and protracted de-

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<sup>27</sup>George Gillespie ("A Minister of the New Testament"), *The Ark of the Testament Opened, or, the Secret of the Lords Covenant Unsealed, In a Treatise of the Covenant of Grace* (London: Printed by R. C. for Thomas Parkhurst, 1661) part I, p. ii. This work is divided into two parts which are printed together, but with separate pagination. It also contains some printer's errors in the pagination (Hereafter designated as *Ark*, A or *Ark*, B).

<sup>28</sup>Alexander Gordon, "Gillespie," p. 360.

<sup>29</sup>Thus this consideration covers the works attributed commonly both to George and Patrick Gillespie since the *Ark* is the only work, except for one sermon, listed as being written by Patrick Gillespie. See New College catalogue (University of Edinburgh) and G. W. Sprott, p. 363.

<sup>30</sup>There were five ministers appointed (Alexander Henderson, Robert Douglas, Robert Baillie, Samuel Rutherford, and George Gillespie) and three elders (the Earl of Cassilis, Lord Maitland and Sir Archibald Johnston of Warriston). Neither Robert Douglas nor the Earl of Cassilis attended. Hetherington, p. XX.

<sup>31</sup>Alexander Gordon, "Gillespie," p. 359.



bates at Westminster that none took a more active part or gained more distinction than George Gillespie, who was known for his learning and power of argument.<sup>32</sup> In particular Gillespie distinguished himself at the Assembly as a defender of the Reformed ideal of the Church in conflict with the leading Erastians, Selden and Coleman.<sup>33</sup>

From the time of his ordination to the Presbyterian Church Gillespie was both devoted to the public service of the Church and necessarily engaged in all of the great measures of that momentous period.<sup>34</sup> In 1642 he was installed as the minister of Greyfriars' Church, Edinburgh.<sup>35</sup> And after the Westminster Assembly it was the duty of Baillie and Gillespie to present the results of the deliberations to the General Assembly in Edinburgh.<sup>36</sup> Later in that same

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<sup>32</sup>Hetherington, p. XXI-XXII. It is said that the answer to the question "What is God?" was taken directly from his prayer when the committee could find no satisfactory answer (Ibid., p. XXVIII).

<sup>33</sup>Macleod, p. 79. Of special note was Gillespie's refutation of the learned Selden's argument against excommunication from Matthew 18:15-17; it is recorded that "the effect of Gillespie's speech was so great as not only to convince the Assembly, but also to astonish and confound Selden himself, who is reported to have exclaimed in a tone of bitter mortification, "That young man, by this single speech, has swept away the learning and labour of ten years of my life." Hetherington, p. XXIII and Alexander Gordon, "Gillespie," p. 359.

<sup>34</sup>Hetherington, p. XVI.

<sup>35</sup>Alexander Gordon, "Gillespie," p. 359.

<sup>36</sup>Hetherington, p. XXIX and Alexander Gordon, "Gillespie," p. 360. The Confession was ratified and a series of propositions (111) against Erastianism, written by Gillespie, was authorized for publication.

year (1647) he was elected to the High Church of Edinburgh and the following year was chosen as moderator of the General Assembly,<sup>37</sup> though it was contrary to his own wishes.<sup>38</sup>

All throughout his life he was known as the supreme defender of the Reformed doctrine of the Church, though he was less inclined to take up positions as extreme as was Rutherford. He was involved in the struggles between the Church and state although perhaps not nearly to the degree that were other Churchmen.<sup>39,40</sup> It is stated that upon his return to Scotland, following the Westminster Assembly, he found the state of his cōntry in such a state that he was forced to toil beyond his strength, and through his influence the Church was restrained from compromising with the wicked designs of politicians.<sup>41</sup> However, under his incessant

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<sup>37</sup> Alexander Gordon, "Gillespie," p. 360.

<sup>38</sup> Hetherington, p. XXIX.

<sup>39</sup> Alexander Gordon, "Gillespie," pp. 359-360.

<sup>40</sup> Several facts can be added concerning his relationship to this struggle. (1) The Scottish privy council were so enangered at his first work, "Dispute Against the English Popish Ceremonies" that they ordered all copies to be collected and burned (Ibid., p. 359). (2) He refused ordination at the hands of a bishop (Hetherington, p. XVI) and was instead given the second non-episcopal ordination following the revival of the hierarchy (Alexander Gordon, "Gillespie," p. 358). (3) It was he that preached before the General Assembly which is memorable for its disposition of the bishops (Glasgow, 1638). (4) He was one of the members of the army which invaded the English border in 1640 and signed a peace treaty in London after the armistice was agreed. (5) After the re-establishment of presbyterianism he preached before Charles at Holyrood and was one of the covenanting leaders on whom the king bestowed a pension. (6) At the Westminster Assembly he joined in subscribing to the "Solemn League and Covenant" of 17 August, 1643 (Ibid., p. 359).

<sup>41</sup> Hetherington, pp. XXIX-XXX.

labours and anxieties concerning his Kirk and country, his health began to fail until he died in 1648 at the age of thirty-five.<sup>42</sup>

#### THEOLOGY PROPER

While Gillespie teaches a very orthodox doctrine concerning the Trinity,<sup>43</sup> he operates with a rather clear-cut distinction between nature and grace, which is sometimes implied and sometimes stated clearly.<sup>44</sup> At one point he asserts that to exalt nature is to depress grace, as though the two were mutually exclusive.<sup>45</sup> But he was at least somewhat apprehensive about the tendency in federal theology to give no place to Christ in the work of creation. Nevertheless, his stress is more on what God must do, rather than what He has done--hence man's need must come before the Work

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<sup>42</sup>Ibid., pp. XXIX; Walker, p. 14; Alexander Gordon, "Gillespie," p. 360.

<sup>43</sup>George Gillespie, "Male Audis: or, An Answer to Mr. Coleman's Male Dicis: Wherein the Repugnancy of His Erastian Doctrine to the Word of God, to the Solemn League and Covenant, and to the Ordinances of Parliament: Also His Contradictions, Tergiversations, Heterodoxies, Calumnies, and Perverting of Testimones, Are Made More Apparent Than Formerly: Together with Some Animadversion Upon Mr. Hussey's Plea for Christian Magistracy: Showing that in Divers of the Afore-Mentioned Particulars He Hath Miscarried as Much as, And in Some Particulars More Than, Mr. Coleman," in *The Works of Mr. George Gillespie, Minister of Edinburgh, and One of the Commissioners From Scotland to the Westminster Assembly, 1644*, collected by W. M. Hetherington, I (Edinburgh: Robert Ogle and Oliver and Boyd, 1846), p. 19 (Hereafter designated as "Male").

<sup>44</sup>George Gillespie, "Notes of Debates and Proceedings of the Assembly of Divines and Other Commissioners at Westminster. February 1644 to January 1645," ed. by David Meek, in *The Works of Mr. George Gillespie, Minister of Edinburgh, and One of the Commissioners From Scotland to the Westminster Assembly, 1644*, collected by W. M. Hetherington, II (Edinburgh: Robert Ogle and Oliver and Boyd, 1844), p. 116 (Hereafter designated as "Assembly")

<sup>45</sup>George Gillespie, "A Treatise of Miscellany Questions; Where-

of Christ and the atonement.<sup>46</sup>

### MAN AND SIN

And in Gillespie's framework the doctrine of man and sin with its dark background is placed before the Person of Christ. Man was created out of God's desire for objects with whom He could communicate His love.<sup>47</sup> He was created in integrity<sup>48</sup> and engaged at his own consent with a covenant which was written in his heart and superadded with signs and seals.<sup>49</sup> Though Adam was placed in an earthly condition, he enjoyed a heavenly communion with God as well as the spiritual good which was suitable to an immortal soul.<sup>50</sup> And he needed no Mediator in his unfallen state; Gillespie explains:

I do not say that he needed help from Christ Mediator, or that he needed Christ in that state; (though some Learned and sound Divines be of that opinion) for though the proposition, John 15:5 *Without me ye can do nothing*, be of eternal truth, as to the necessity of the

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in Many Useful Questions and Cases of Conscience are Discussed and Resolved, for the Satisfaction of Those Who Desire Nothing More than to Search for and Find out Precious Truths in the Controversies of These Times," in *The Works of Mr. George Gillespie, Minister of Edinburgh, and One of the Commissioners From Scotland to the Westminster Assembly, 1644*, collected by W. M. Hetherington, II (Edinburgh: Robert Ogle, and Oliver and Boyd, 1844), p. 71 (Hereafter designated as "Questions").

<sup>46</sup>Donald John Macrae Corbett, "The Moral Aspect of the Atonement in Scottish Theology From David Dickson to James Denney and H. R. Mackintosh" (Ph.D. thesis, University of Edinburgh, 1965), pp. 82-83. Although Corbett claims to be referring to Patrick Gillespie, he bases all his observations on the work *The Ark of the Testament Opened*. Hence his comments refer to what is attributed to George Gillespie in this consideration.

<sup>47</sup>*Ark*, A, p. 167.

<sup>48</sup>*Ibid.*, pp. 179 and 290.

<sup>49</sup>*Ibid.*, p. 192.

<sup>50</sup>*Ibid.*, p. 202.

help of Christ Mediator to fallen man, and the necessity of the help of Christ God to man, in whatsoever estate: yet I do not see how it doth necessarily follow, that man in whatsoever estate needed the help of Christ, even as Mediator; not excepting that estate wherein man had perfect knowledge of divine things, and yet knew nothing of Christ, for ought that can be gathered from the Scripture.<sup>51,52</sup>

Adam did not long continue in this paradise-state, for sin dispossessed him of life.<sup>53,54</sup> This transgression of the first man involved a willing and deliberate act which "was both a formal sinning against the obligation of a command, and a virtual yeelding to the want of divine influences." Adam sinned both willingly and with delight. In describing this transgression Gillespie maintains:

It was disloyalty and rebellion, it was the shaking off obedience, and denying subjection to his Maker, and refusing to pay to him that homage that was appointed to him, which was so much the greater, that the obedience was in so small and easie a matter. It was breach of Covenant, of federal obedience, for the Law given to him was a federal law.<sup>55</sup>

By this sin man broke the first Covenant irreparably, fell from the state of life by that Covenant totally and finally, and "makes such a breach of this Covenant as can never be repaired and made up again, as renders the way of life by that Covenant impossible and unpassable."<sup>56</sup> And in Adam

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<sup>51</sup>Ibid., pp. 203-204.

<sup>52</sup>Concerning Adam's paradise-state Gillespie teaches that (1) the state was to be continued as long as man remained in obedience, (2) although God was not bound to hinder Adam from falling, He did give Adam sufficient strength to fulfill his part of the covenant (Ibid., pp. 205-206, 223), (3) Adam was exempted from the necessity of sinning, but not from the possibility of sinning (Ibid., p. 206), (4) Adam needed help to persevere from God as Creator, as the God of nature--not "in the way of predestinations as a Father and Redeemer in Christ" (Ibid., pp. 204-205), and (5) his paradise state was therefore excellent, but mutable (Ibid., p. 203).

<sup>53</sup>Ibid., p. 178.

<sup>54</sup>For a discussion of the matter of human freedom in the matter of Adam's sin, see Ibid., pp. 207-208.

<sup>55</sup>Ibid., p. 209.

<sup>56</sup>Ibid., p. 211.

all men sinned because of a federal agreement made between Adam and God whereby Adam acted "as a publike person."<sup>57</sup> Thus when Adam fell, as the representative for the race, all mankind fell with Him, unlike the fall of the angels who had no public representative.<sup>58</sup>

In Gillespie there appears to be in this connection a manifestation of one of the essential themes of federal theology--that redemption has its origin in the sin of man, and not in the election of God.<sup>59</sup> In his sin man has lost the image of God, his sonship, and his inheritance,<sup>60</sup> making himself to be without merit, totally unworthy of the grace of the covenant, and without any working cause or efficiency within himself.<sup>61</sup> There is in him an eternal impotency to give to God a fitting satisfaction, to obey the command of the Law, to bear the curse of the Law, and

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<sup>57</sup> Ibid., pp. 179-180. Gillespie explains carefully that "it is called a Covenant with the *first* Adam, or with *mankind*, because though *Adam* was the person with whom this Covenant was made, yet it was not a personal Covenant; but Adam is to be understood collectively, as a common person, or as a head of a confederate party, even the whole race of *mankind* (as he is to be understood also, I Corinthians 15: 45), who should have been under the commands (even as the positive Law not excepted) that he was under as conditions of life, and who should have reaped common benefits of that Covenant with him, as now by this fall, they are under the punishment of that Covenant, having sinned in him, and become liable to death as the Apostle proveth, Romans 5." Ibid., p. 196.

<sup>58</sup> Ibid., p. 180.

<sup>59</sup> Corbett, p. 84.

<sup>60</sup> George Gillespie ("A Minister of the New Testament"), *The Ark of the Covenant Opened: Or, A Treatise of the Covenant of Redemption Between God and Christ, as the Foundation of the Covenant of Grace* (London: Thomas Parkhurst, 1677), p. 190. (Hereafter designed as *Redemption*). The work is actually the second part of *Ark A* and *B* but is separately titled and separately published.

<sup>61</sup> *Ark, B*, p. 2.



to remove his own guilt.<sup>62</sup> Gillespie asserts, "But to us God without Christ is a consuming fire, and we are combustible matter, chaffe and straw, we are loathsome to God, and God terrible to us."<sup>63</sup> Thus before we can ever enjoy God we must first be made holy and cleansed from our corruption and unrighteousness.<sup>64,65</sup>

#### THE PERSON OF CHRIST

Along with the other Calvinists of his day, Gillespie operates with a powerful Christology. Christ is confessed to be the Second Person of the Trinity, equal and consubstantial with the Father in nature, essence, and dominion.<sup>66</sup> All power in heaven and earth is said to be given unto Christ as the eternal Son of God both in respect of the eternal generation by which the godhead and all divine properities were from all eternity communicated unto the Son from the Father, and in respect of the declaration or manifestation

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<sup>62</sup>*Redemption*, p. 186.

<sup>63</sup>*Ark*, A, p. 290.

<sup>64</sup>*Ark*, B, p. 77.

<sup>65</sup>Gillespie refuses to consider whether God could pardon sin without a price and satisfaction because he has plainly revealed by His decree that a satisfaction is the only way pardon can be given. He considers the Socinian opinion to be dangerous which makes Justice (or Anger) to be no property in God, but the mere voluntary effect of His will, so that it is wholly arbitrary whether or not He punishes sin. To the contrary Gillespie insists that justice is a property to God and His punishing of sin does not proceed merely from His will ("*Rod*," pp. 36-37). Therefore, the justice of God will be satisfied either in the person of the sinner or in an appointed and appropriate substitute (*Ark*, B, p. 25). And God will never restore any man without a fit satisfaction to His justice ("*Rod*," p. 186).

<sup>66</sup>"*Male*," pp. 18-20.



of Him to be the Son of God with power, when He was raised from the dead.<sup>67</sup> Therefore, since Christ is fully and completely God, those who desire something more than Christ must desire something more than God.<sup>68</sup>

But although Christ was eternally the Son of God, He humbled Himself, not manifesting that glory which was His, and took upon Him the form of a servant and was made in the likeness of men.<sup>69</sup> He condescended below the level of the glorious angels to assume our flesh,<sup>70</sup> and behaved as other men, in their natural flesh, obeying even unto the death of the cross.<sup>71</sup> Furthermore, it is stated that

From Christs Suretiship ariseth a natural relation betwixt him and us, that he is our kinsman, and our brother, of the same nature, of the same blesh and blood with us: this resulteth from his Suretiship whereby he condescended and agreed to take our nature upon him: for otherwise he and we had never been of the same lump . . . .<sup>72</sup>

Gillespie explains that Christ does not "personate our nature, but is *made* flesh."<sup>73</sup> And he cautiously adds that though Jesus Christ became truly man, He was not meer man (*verus*

<sup>67</sup>"Rod," p. 106.

<sup>68</sup>Ibid., p. 106.

<sup>69</sup>*Redemption*, p. 58.

<sup>70</sup>Ibid., p. 183.

<sup>71</sup>Ibid., p. 58.

<sup>72</sup>Ibid., p. 338. Gillespie also explains that it was particularly at His resurrection that Christ was exalted in His human nature, and it is called the day in which He was begotten. Ibid., p. 9. He also insists that Christ had the same human nature as mankind, but that this identification of Christ with our nature in no way implies universalism. *Ark, A*, p. 179.

<sup>73</sup>*Redemption*, p. 182.

*sed non merus homo*).<sup>74</sup> But, nevertheless, in the assumption of our humanity Christ assumed all the affections and infirmities of mankind,<sup>75</sup> being made like unto us--in our nature and condition.<sup>76</sup> It is also asserted that Christ "was anointed even from the first union of his two Natures in his person; the Godhead did sanctifie the humane Nature, and make it holy, undefiled. . . ." <sup>77</sup>

Thus Christ is both God and man in one Person--Immanuel--being Incarnate by an eternal act of the will of God.<sup>78</sup> In Him is a wonderful personal union of His two natures which meet in the one Person;<sup>79</sup> hence as the eternal Son of God Christ is equal with the Father, but as Mediator He is subordinate to the Father.<sup>80</sup> Gillespie teaches concerning this union:

The union of the two natures in the Person of the Redeemer, which was transacted in this Covenant, is an eternal union; I mean, the humane nature, which was from eternity designed unto a substantial union with God; being once assumed, stands in that substantial union for ever; so that it is impossible that the personal union which was transacted in the Covenant of Redemption, can be dissolved unto all eternity.<sup>81,82</sup>

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<sup>74</sup> Ibid., p. 180. Gillespie seems to prefer to speak of Christ becoming God-man, rather than man. And while this designation, which was not used by either Calvin or Knox, tends to guard against the notion of a dual personality in Christ, it has the great disadvantage of inferring that Christ was not fully man, but something between God and man, though fully neither.

<sup>75</sup> Ibid., pp. 180-181, 194.

<sup>76</sup> Ibid., pp. 183, 374.

<sup>77</sup> Ibid., p. 226.

<sup>78</sup> Ibid., p. 51.

<sup>79</sup> Ibid., p. 369.

<sup>80</sup> "Rod," p. 92.

<sup>81</sup> *Redemption*, pp. 63-64.

<sup>82</sup> Concerning the communion of properties, see George Gillespie, "A Dispute Against the English Popish Ceremonies Obtruded on the Church of Scotland; Wherein Not Only Our Own Arguments Against the Same are Strongly

It was as the God-man, joining man's offending nature with the Godhead in a personal union, that Christ was fitted to stand in our place and upon our side as a party distinct from God in order that He might satisfy the divine wrath and make a full satisfaction to God's offended justice.<sup>83</sup>

Although both natures of Christ concurred in His mediatorial office, this work was especially performed as the God-man.<sup>84</sup> And He is the Mediator, not the Father or the Holy Ghost, because it was decreed in the deep and unsearchable will of God that it would be the Second Person who would assume man's nature and act in his behalf.<sup>85</sup> Gillespie further explains that it is in the Incarnation and union of the two natures in one Person that the love of God is most clearly demonstrated and His great willingness to save sinners--the chief purpose of the Incarnation.<sup>86</sup>

In discussing Christ's humanity Gillespie is careful

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Confirmed, But Likewise the Answers and Defences of our Opposites, Such as Hooker, Mortoune, Burges, Spring, Paybody, Andrews, Sarvia, Tilen, Spitswood, Lindsey, Forbesse, etc., Particularly Confuted," in *The Works of Mr. George Gillespie, Minister of Edinburgh, and One of the Commissioners From Scotland to the Westminster Assembly, 1644*, collected by W. M. Hetherington, I (Edinburgh: Robert Ogle and Oliver and Boyd, 1846), II, IV, 15 (Hereafter designated as "Dispute").

<sup>83</sup> *Redemption*, p. 78.

<sup>84</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 251-253. Gillespie asserts, "Christ performeth the Office of Mediator not as Man only, but according to both Natures as God-man," and with the full concurrence of both.

<sup>85</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 189.

<sup>86</sup> Gillespie observes that "this is the Fountain of all the promises of the Covenant of Grace; the three greatest promises in all the Covenant flows from Christs Incarnation. *I will be your God: I will Give you my Son: and I will give you my Spirit.* And these, and all the rest too, flow from this Fountain; for neither the Father, the Son, nor the Spirit are given to us, but through a Mediator, and through his assuming of our nature. . . ." *Ibid.*, pp. 198-199.

to safeguard its purity and sinlessness. He insists that such influences were ensured to Him by Covenant that it was impossible for the man Christ to sin or to fall short of performing all the pleasure of His Father--as did Adam.<sup>87</sup> There was no hazard of Christ's failing in the conditions of the Covenant or falling short of the promised reward because "the personal union of the two Natures, exempted the man Christ from all hazard and possibility of sinning or coming short in the obedience of any command or condition required of him."<sup>88,89</sup>

It is after the fall that mankind is granted a new discovery of God--of Him in Christ, and this is the mystery which angels desire to look into.<sup>90</sup> But apart from Christ the Mediator there is no saving knowledge of God, "for since the fall, God dealeth not with man immediately: nor can man see him, or hear him speak without a Mediator."<sup>91</sup> It is in

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<sup>87</sup> Ibid., p. 98.

<sup>88</sup> Ibid., p. 87.

<sup>89</sup> Although Gillespie teaches that Christ "took upon Him the nature of fallen man" (Ibid., pp. 457-458), it is explained that His was a holy, sinless human nature and His growth was without sinful weaknesses on His part (Ibid., pp. 96-97). It is further maintained that "Christ's manhood was a true nature, yet no sinful nature, but had only the *similitude* or *likeness of sinful flesh*, because he bare all our infirmities in which we lay through sin . . ." (Ibid., pp. 180-181). He assumed the guilt of our sin upon Himself, though not the corruption of sin (Ibid., p. 183). He was born of a virgin in order that He might be separated from sinners and that our corruption might not fall upon Him (Ibid., p. 196). Thus the punishment of our iniquity was laid upon Him, but not the iniquity itself (Ibid., p. 381). But there is a sense in which Christ can be said to have been justified. See *Redemption*, pp. 102-103.

<sup>90</sup> Ibid., p. 162.

<sup>91</sup> Ibid., p. 156.

and through the Mediator that the distinct offices of the three Persons of the Trinity and their ordered administration are most brightly revealed to the world which saw them only darkly before.<sup>92</sup> And because "in Christ the fulness of the godhead dwells bodily,"<sup>93</sup> in Him shine forth all the excellencies of God--including His mercy and long suffering, love and goodness,<sup>94</sup> His sovereignty, His justice, His holiness,<sup>95</sup> faithfulness, and His all-sufficiency,<sup>96</sup>--which would otherwise have been invisible and could never have been seen, for "Jesus Christ hath in him a glorious resemblance, and a perfect Character of all the glorious Excellencies and Attributes of the Father."<sup>97,98</sup>

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<sup>92</sup>Ibid., pp. 41-42, 171.

<sup>93</sup>"Rod," p. 47. Gillespie writes, "As the great God, whom the heaven of heavens cannot contain, was yet pleased to dwell on earth, by putting his name in that place; so notwithstanding of the infinite distance between God and man, yet they are brought near each to other, to have fellowship together in Jesus Christ."

<sup>94</sup>*Redemption*, pp. 166-167.

<sup>95</sup>Ibid., p. 168.

<sup>96</sup>Ibid., pp. 169-170.

<sup>97</sup>Ibid., pp. 163-164.

<sup>98</sup>Gillespie appears to be cautious in his teaching concerning the humanity of Christ. Although he asserts that Christ is exalted in His human nature to a higher degree than ever was man or angel (George Gillespie, "A Brotherly Examination of Some Passages of Mr. Coleman's Late Sermon Upon Job 11:20, As it is Now Printed and Published: By Which He Hath to the Great Offence of Very Many Endeavoured to Strike at the Very Root of All Scriptural and Ecclesiastical Government, Contrary to the Word of God, the Solemn League and Covenant, Other Reformed Churches, and the Votes of the Honourable Houses of Parliament After Advice With the Reverend and Learned Assembly of Divines," in *The Works of Mr. George Gillespie, Minister of Edinburgh, and One of the Commissioners From Scotland to the Westminster Assembly, 1644*, collected by W. M. Hetherington, I [Edinburgh: Robert Ogle and Oliver and Boyd, 1846], p. 11 [Hereafter designated as "Examination"]; "Rod," p. 104),

THE OFFICES OF CHRIST

As the Great Emmanuel--God in our flesh--Christ has been separated and specifically anointed unto three great offices--Prophet, Priest, and King--and endowed with the Spirit above measure to enable Him to perform His assigned work,<sup>99</sup> as the Mediator between God and man.<sup>100</sup> And although these three offices cannot be divided in one sense<sup>101</sup> because they concur in performing the same end--our reconciliation--they do this in different ways that our salvation might be more complete and pure.<sup>102</sup> Gillespie explains, "And yet our need of all these is such that we could not have been completely saved, if any of these Offices had been wanting in our Mediator: we stand in need of a Prophet, a Priest, and a King."<sup>103,104</sup>

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yet at the same time it appears that for Gillespie the humanity of Christ and His identification with man has little significance in any fundamental sense in the Covenant of Redemption (Corbett, pp. 86-87). He insists that the manhood of Christ remains a creature and cannot be worshipped as God ("Dispute," III, IV, 15-16). Moreover, the humanity of Christ, it is stated, cannot save us nor help us (Ibid.), for "whosoever believeth in Christ, and yet believeth not him to be eternal God, doth but believe in a creature, and no creature can redeem us from hell, nor satisfy infinite justice" ("Questions," p. 65).

<sup>99</sup>*Redemption*, pp. 201 and 227.

<sup>100</sup>Ibid., p. 155.

<sup>101</sup>"Assembly," p. 109.

<sup>102</sup>*Redemption*, p. 210.

<sup>103</sup>Ibid., p. 217.

<sup>104</sup>Gillespie also insists that each of these three offices were exercised by Christ in contemplation of His Death (Ark, A, p. 328) and that during the present age they are exercised especially through the Scriptures (George Gillespie, "A Sermon Preached Before the Honourable House of Commons at Their Late Solemn Fast, Wednesday, March 27, 1644" [Ezekiel 43:11], in *The Works of Mr. George Gillespie, Minister*



In the Covenant Christ has been appointed a Prophet and Teacher,<sup>105</sup> and is "the most wise lawgiver of his Church."<sup>106</sup> This office, which was exercised both in Christ's humiliation and exaltation,<sup>107</sup> reveals to us a new way of happiness and removes our ignorance and blindness.<sup>108</sup> As the great Prophet He undertakes to create a right understanding between the two parties at variance--God and man--by (1) publishing and declaring all the mind of God to His people, especially in revealing Gods gracious purpose in providing reconciliation, (2) working the effectual knowledge of God and of His will in the hearts of His people, and (3) by removing the mistakes and prejudices whereby the alienation between God and man is heightened and continued.<sup>109</sup>

By divine appointment Christ is also a Priest, the Great High Priest, typified in the Old Testament by the Jewish

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*of Edinburgh, and One of the Commissioners From Scotland to the Westminster Assembly, 1644, collected by W. M. Hetherington, I [Edinburgh: Robert Ogle and Oliver and Boyd, 1846], p. 19 [Hereafter designated as "Ezekiel"]).*

<sup>105</sup> *Redemption*, p. 21.

<sup>106</sup> George Gillespie, "One Hundred and Eleven Propositions Concerning the Ministry and Government of the Church," in *The works of Mr. George Gillespie, Minister of Edinburgh, and One of the Commissioners From Scotland to the Westminster Assembly, 1644*, collected by W. M. Hetherington, I (Edinburgh: Robert Ogle and Oliver and Boyd, 1846), proposition 30 (Hereafter designated as "Propositions," with a number signifying the number of the particular proposition).

<sup>107</sup> *Redemption*, p. 258.

<sup>108</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 203 and 211. This prophetic office is executed by Christ both in teaching His people inwardly by His Spirit and in teaching the Church outwardly through His servants, the ministers of His Word. "Assembly," p. 109; "Rod," p. 136.

<sup>109</sup> *Redemption*, p. 204.



High Priest.<sup>110</sup> The nature of this office relates to satisfaction for sin, whereby Christ offers up Himself as a sacrifice for our sins after He had rendered perfect obedience to the Law. Also belonging to this office is His intercession "which is performed in the virtue of the satisfaction given by Him to Divine Justice, and the Sacrifice once offered up by Him."<sup>111</sup> As a Priest He performs acts of Majesty, being seated at the right hand of the Father<sup>112</sup> and deals with our alienation and estrangement from God, removing the distance and restoring us to friendship with God.<sup>113,114</sup>

Christ is also a real King upon a throne who has the power to bow the hearts of His subjects and crush the rulers who oppose Him.<sup>115</sup> He is the "King of kings and Lord of lords,"

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<sup>110</sup> Ibid., p. 21 and George Gillespie, "An Assertion of the Government of the Church of Scotland, in the Points of Ruling Elders, and the Authority of Presbyteries and Synods," in *The Works of Mr. George Gillespie, Minister of Edinburgh, and One of the Commissioners From Scotland to the Westminster Assembly, 1644*, collected by W. M. Hetherington, I (Edinburgh: Robert Ogle and Oliver and Boyd, 1846), p. 13 (Hereafter designated as "Assertion").

<sup>111</sup> *Redemption*, pp. 204-205. Gillespie explains that "His Priesthood, which he dischargeth in both parts thereof, as well in his Exaltation as Humiliation; Yet eminently he sacrificed here, and eminently he intercedeth in Heaven . . ." (Ibid., pp. 257-258).

<sup>112</sup> Ibid., p. 182.

<sup>113</sup> Ibid., pp. 203, 211.

<sup>114</sup> Concerning the participation of believers in this priesthood of Christ Gillespie affirms, "The same God who hath made Christians an holy priesthood hath promised to the Church of the New Testament, that he will set apart and take from among them, or of them (by way of distinction and special calling), priests, who shall minister before him in the holy things . . . whom he calleth priests, not in the jewish nor popish sense, but for their offering up of the Gentiles to God by the preaching of the Gospel, and sanctified by the Holy Ghost, Romans 15: 16" ("Questions," p. 3).

<sup>115</sup> *Redemption*, p. 95.

the most excellent and glorious King, whose excellency, dignity, and majesty may be compared to no other and to which all others are subordinate,<sup>116</sup> including both men and angels.<sup>117</sup> But Gillespie argues that "Christ is properly King of his church only,"<sup>118</sup> for His kingdom is distinct from the government of this present world and all constituted civil magistracy.<sup>119,120</sup> As the King Christ is appointed a Deputy-governor in subordination to His Father, with a universal kingdom over all, though especially over His Church--reigning over its members outwardly by His Law, ordinances, and offices, and inwardly in their hearts. His government is spiritual in that He rules over the hearts of men and captivates their affections. The special purpose of His kingdom, which is everlasting and ruled with power and authority through His Word and the Spirit, is the salvation of His people and the subduing of their enemies; Gillespie explains that

the great and special end of Christs Kingly Office is to make his other Offices effectual for the saving of his Elect, to support his Priesthood and Prophecy, and to give vigour and efficacy to them: for except Christ had been a Prince that had power over his friends and foes, his other Offices could never have been made effectual to the Elect, nor he a *Captain of salvation* to them . . . .<sup>121</sup>

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<sup>116</sup>"Rod," p. 98.

<sup>117</sup>*Redemption*, pp. 107, 185.

<sup>118</sup>"Examination," p. 11.

<sup>119</sup>"Rod," p. XV. See also *Ibid.*, pp. 75, 136, 137.

<sup>120</sup>Gillespie further teaches that (1) Christ's office as King is one which He has not received by nature, but by Covenant and Agreement with the Father (*Redemption*, p. 21), (2) His resurrection was His Coronation day (*Redemption*, p. 10), and (3) The primary administration of this office is reserved for His heavenly exaltation (*Ibid.*, pp. 257-258), where the man Christ sits upon the throne in glorious light and beauty (*Ibid.*, p. 48).

<sup>121</sup>*Ibid.*, pp. 207-209.

He is a King to make application of His great purchase whereby He meets the impotency and rebellion of our natural condition and sweetly subdues it by the power and dominion of His grace.<sup>122</sup>

#### CHRIST THE MEDIATOR

As the Prophet, Priest, and King Christ exists as the one and only Mediator between God and man.<sup>123</sup> He is eternally designated as the Mediator of the Covenant,<sup>124</sup> the medium both of revelation and of reconciliation.<sup>125</sup> Gillespie does not speak of an absolute necessity of a Mediator whereby it is denied that God could have restored man by His own power without a Mediator and pardoned sin without a satisfaction, nor of a natural necessity, but "of an hypothetical, respective necessity, upon connexion of one thing with another." He explains concerning God:

It was for his honour that he should carry like a Superiour wronged: it became the Majesty of the Lord to keep at a distance with sinners, and not to be dealt with immediately by the parties who had done him the wrong; but by the Mediation and Intercession of another great Person . . . Men must therefore come to God by him, by a Mediator.<sup>126</sup>

By God's design the highest justice and the freest grace meet together in the Mediator in that He was treated as though there were no grace and we as if justice had not demanded a satisfaction.<sup>127</sup>

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<sup>122</sup>Ibid., pp. 203 and 212.

<sup>123</sup>"Rod," p. 47.

<sup>124</sup>Redemption, pp. 176-177.

<sup>125</sup>Ibid., p. 162.

<sup>126</sup>Ibid., pp. 153-154.

<sup>127</sup>Ibid., p. 155.

A substantial part of Gillespie's doctrine of the Mediator was formulated in opposition to Coleman who attempted to prove that all government, even civil, is given to Christ as Mediator.<sup>128</sup> In opposing this teaching Gillespie envisions a twofold headship of Christ, one in regard to His Godhead so that He is head of all principality and power, and another in regard to His office of Mediator whereby He is Head of the Church only. The former is in common with God the Father and God the Holy Ghost; the latter is proper to Christ only as God and man,<sup>129</sup> and is His personally--but only as He reigns as Mediator. Therefore, the general power and dominion by which Christ exercises sovereignty over all creatures without exception, belongs to Christ, not as Mediator, but as the eternal Son of God. Gillespie further asserts:

But Jesus Christ hath a kingdom in subordination to God the Father, and another kingdom wherein he is not subordinate unto, but equal with God the Father; Therefore, the kingdom which Christ hath as Mediator, doth (in regard of the office of Mediatorship) constitute him in a subordination to his Father, whose commandments he executeth and to whom he gives an account of his ministration.<sup>130,131</sup>

This argument for the two kingdoms is given support

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<sup>128</sup>"Male," p. 20.

<sup>129</sup>"Examination," p. 12.

<sup>130</sup>"Rod," pp. 91-92.

<sup>131</sup>Gillespie lists a number of contrasts between these two kingdoms of Christ, including the fact (1) as God Christ reigns over all creatures, but as the Mediator only over His body ("Examination," p. 12), (2) His kingdom over all things will continue forever while His rule of the Church will not, (3) "Christ can reign as God, though He reign not as Mediator; but he cannot reign as Mediator and not reign as God" (Ibid.; "Propositions," 44), and (4) in one kingdom Christ reigns through the administration of evangelical ordinances and in the other, without evangelical ordinances ("Rod," pp. 91-92.

by Christ's words "My kingdom is not of this world" (John 18:36), which Gillespie understands as meaning that the civil government is not given to Christ as Mediator and then committed to others.<sup>132</sup> It is argued that the law written in man's heart at Creation flows not from Christ as Mediator, but from God as Creator--"neither can it be said that Christ, as Mediator, ruleth and governeth all nations by the law of nature and nations, or that Christ would have reigned as Mediator though man had not sinned."<sup>133</sup> Thus the office of the magistrate and Christ's kingly office as Mediator are totally different in both genre and end.<sup>134</sup> Therefore the magistrate is the vicegerent of Christ as He is the eternal Son of God and reigns over all things, but not of Christ as He is the Mediator.<sup>135</sup>

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<sup>132</sup>"Rod," p. 111. Also Christ denies having been made a judge in civil affairs (Luke 12:14). "Examination," p. 10.

<sup>133</sup>Ibid., p. 113.

<sup>134</sup>Ibid., p. 99. See also MacPherson, pp. 187-189.

<sup>135</sup>Ibid., p. 90. Gillespie stresses several facts concerning this relationship--(1) though God has appointed magistrates, they have no authority from Christ the Mediator ("Examination," p. 10), (2) the magistrate does not manage his office in Christ's stead (George Gillespie, "Nihil Respondes: or a Discovery of the Extreme Unsatisfactoriness of Mr. Coleman's Piece, Published Last Week Under the Title of 'A Brotherly Examination Re-examined,'" in *The Works of Mr. George Gillespie, Minister of Edinburgh, and One of the Commissioners From Scotland to the Westminster Assembly, 1644*, collected by W. M. Hetherington, I [Edinburgh: Robert Ogle and Oliver and Boyd, 1846] p. 8 [Hereafter designated as "Nihil"]), (3) he does not seek the glory of Jesus Christ as Mediator and King of the Church ("Rod," p. 87), (4) he is not to rule, make laws, or to manage any part of his office in the name and power of the Lord Jesus Christ as Mediator ("Examination," p. 10), (5) the power of the magistrate is political or civil, and is exercised in relation to secular matters, but the power of the Church and the kingdom of Christ is spiritual and is exercised in prayer and with the use of spiritual weapons appointed by Christ ("Proposition," p. 62), (6) while the Church issues censures for impenitent sinners and respects

Though Christ is heir of all things as Mediator, Gillespie contends that this fact is to be understood "only church-wise;"<sup>136</sup> Christ is King and Head only of His Church.<sup>137</sup> But there is in Gillespie's thought a very subtle distinction on this point. While he denies the universality of Christ's kingdom, nevertheless, he teaches that in the hand of Christ there is an exceeding great power as Mediator, whereby He is over the whole administration of things in Heaven and earth.<sup>138</sup> He who is the Mediator and Head of the Church excels all creatures;<sup>139</sup> however, Gillespie qualifies his meaning when he adds:

But neither his divine omnipotence, nor the height of glory and honour, which, as man, he is exalted to, nor both these together in the Mediator and Head of the Church, omnipotence, and exaltation to glory, can prove that (as Mediator) he exerciseth his kingly

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repentance, the magistrate must punish offenders, whether penitent or impenitent ("Assembly," p. 111), (7) the power of the magistrate derives from God as Creator (Ibid., p. 116), (8) the supreme end of civil government is the glory of God as King of nations, that the inhabitants of the earth may be kept within the bounds of external obedience to the moral law ("Rod," pp. 86-87; "Propositions," p. 67), and (9) even if man had never sinned, this power would have had place in the world ("Rod," pp. 113, 121).

<sup>136</sup>"Rod," p. 99.

<sup>137</sup>"Examination," pp. 11,13; "Rod," pp. 95,106. Gillespie argues that to those outside His body Christ is neither Head ("Examination," p. 11), nor King, nor Mediator ("Rod," p. 106), for Satan is "the god of this world, who reigneth at his pleasure in and over those who are not the church and the people of God" ("Assembly," p. 111). He asserts that those who teach that all government, even civil, is given to Christ as Mediator, propagate a "most dangerous principle" ("Examination," p. 13) and a great mistake ("Rod," p. 96). See also "Male," pp. 20-21.

<sup>138</sup> *Redemption*, pp. 156,162.

<sup>139</sup>"Examination," p. 11.



office over all principalities, and powers that they hold of and under him as the Mediator.<sup>140,141</sup>

Although Gillespie asserts that after the final judgment there will be "a change of the Oeconomick government" as Christ renders up the kingdom to His Father, he confesses that he does not clearly understand the manner or nature of this change of government.<sup>142</sup> He explains that when Christ has put down all rule, authority, and power, and has put His enemies under His feet (I Corinthians 15:24-25), He shall cease to reign as Mediator.<sup>143</sup> But on the other hand, it is considered to be "unquestionable that Christ shall stand glorified in our nature in heaven for ever," and that His offices are eternal; hence He shall never cease in the execution of His eternal covenant.<sup>144</sup> He will always remain as the Head of His mystical, glorified body and will appear eternally as a pledge of that once-for-all satisfaction, and His presence will witness the standing peace between

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<sup>140</sup>"Rod," p. 104. Therefore, it cannot be said that as Mediator Christ is King, Head, and Governor of all those whom He excels in glory or those over whom He hath the power to do what He wills. Ibid., pp. 93,96; "Examination," p. 13.

<sup>141</sup>Gillespie argues that in Christ the Mediator are found (1) ὑπεροχῇ or δοξα, dignity, excellency, honour, glory, splendour, (2) δύναμις, His mighty power by which He can perform whatsoever He wills in both heaven and earth, (3) βασιλεία, His kingdom and kingly government. In the first two respects Christ is Mediator over all things, but in the third, only in relation to His Church. "Rod," p. 95. Therefore, from Him as Mediator proceeds all ecclesiastical power. "Propositions," 44,70.

<sup>142</sup>*Redemption*, p. 65.

<sup>143</sup>"Examination," pp. 12-13. It is asserted that there will be no need of the Mediatory offices (Prophet, Priest, and King) because there will be no sin, His people will be perfected, and His enemies will be vanquished. *Redemption*, p. 65.

<sup>144</sup>*Redemption*, pp. 64-65.



God and those clothed in His righteousness in whom God is eternally well-pleased. Gillespie explains as fully as he feels he can concerning the mediation of Christ in eternity:

Sure the Lord Mediator as a glorified head of his glorious body in heaven, acteth as Mediator, though not as he acteth now; and though we cannot well determine what sort of leadings and what dispensation of influences from him are there (and no wonder if his union with us and headship over us even here, be a mysterie, the knowledge whereof is referred to his coming again . . .): yet the Lambs throne there, and his leading the redeemed, and being a light and temple to them, proves his peculiar headship to them.<sup>145</sup>

In order for Christ to be our Mediator He had to be both God and man,<sup>146</sup> but particularly man. God requires that the satisfaction of His justice be offered by man--the nature of angels will not suffice--and only by being one of us can His work be imputed to us, including the adoption of sons.<sup>147</sup> Thus the Mediator must be both God and man united in one person.<sup>148</sup> Therefore Christ is Mediator according to both natures and executes that office not only as God or as man, but as θεάνθρωπος, God-man.<sup>149</sup> Because of this function

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<sup>145</sup> Ibid., p. 66; Ark, B, p. 72.

<sup>146</sup> *Redemption*, pp. 186-187.

<sup>147</sup> Ibid., pp. 187-188. Therefore it is "from Christ-man, as he is an *heir appointed*, Hebrews 1:2, that we receive the inheritance; for the natural inheritance of Christ cannot be communicated."

<sup>148</sup> Ibid., pp. 186-188. Gillespie asserts, "In respect of his fulness and qualifications to interpose betwixt God and man . . . He was the only fit person to lay hands on both parties: In Heaven and earth, there was not found a fit person to mediate betwixt God and man until Heaven and Earth, God and man, be joined in one person, to make a fit Mediator, a person equally distant from, and equally near unto both parties. A person who is Gods fellow . . . And who is our fellow made Himself our companion and *like unto his brethren*. . . A person who is Gods Son and our brother. . . Our kinsman, who had the right of Redemption. Ibid., p. 147.

<sup>149</sup> Ibid., pp. 251-252. Both natures are united in one Person, "so the operations concur to make up one Work of a Mediator, the Human

of both natures Gillespie attempts to correct Roman Catholic writers and others who hold that Christ performs the office of Mediator, "not according to his Divine Nature, but according to his Human Nature, only *as Man*."<sup>150</sup>

In this Mediator there is a double activity; He is said to have "wooed God for us, and wooed us for God,"<sup>151</sup> as well as having been both the surety for God to man and the surety for man's part to God.<sup>152</sup> Gillespie adds that Christ

is not only upon both sides of the Covenant; but he contracts for both the parties, carrying the revelation of a party, both upward to God, and downward to us: he treateth and covenanteth for God with us; and he ~~treateth~~ and covenanteth for us with God, which upon the matter is to carry, as <sup>having</sup> the representation and sum of both parties in his person.<sup>153,154</sup>

Thus the Mediator stands between two parties who are at the greatest odds, slays the enmity, bears the indignation and

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and Divine Natures concurring to produce one act or work of Mediatorship." Christ is a Prophet, Priest, and King according to both natures.

<sup>150</sup> Ibid., p. 251. He argues, "There is a vast difference betwixt these two: *the man Christ* is Mediator, and he is Mediator *only as man*: the *man Christ* is that person, not any other man, not any meer man." Ibid., p. 254.

<sup>151</sup> Ibid., p. 239.

<sup>152</sup> Ibid., pp. 403-404

<sup>153</sup> Ibid., p. 458.

<sup>154</sup> This double movement necessarily requires two natures in the Person of the Mediator, for only one who is God can deal with an angry God, and only man can truly represent the interests of mankind (Ibid., p. 189). It is maintained that "a Mediator must be such a Person that hath both *Interest* in both the parties, else he should be suspected either by one party or other. . . . Christ hath the Requisite most eminently; he is such a Person who is not only of Kindred to both parties, but by that rare conjunction of the two Natures in his person, who is *God man*, he is equally distant from and drawing near to both parties . . . (Ibid., p. 230). See also Ibid., pp. 235, 238, 242, 376.

strokes of both,<sup>155</sup> and makes reconciliation for sinful men.<sup>156</sup> The Mediator (μεσίτης) is the Middler in regard to His Person, His Office, and His actual interposing or stepping between the disagreeing parties,

because he acted and executed the Mediators Office which he took upon him, and for which he was fitted; he acted the day-mans part in the treaty of peace: he, through whom the whole Covenant of peace from beginning to end was transacted; who stood in every passage of it as a middle person, through whom God dealeth with us, and we with him.<sup>157,158</sup>

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<sup>155</sup> Ark, B, p. 66.

<sup>156</sup> *Redemption*, pp. 147,176. But apart from Christ the Mediator there could never have been any union or communion between the parties who were so greatly divided (*Ibid.*, p. 157). Only Christ has the power to reconcile God and man because God accepts the sacrifice of Christ's death and Christ humbled Himself to offer satisfaction to God (*Ibid.*, p. 238). Although the first Covenant needed no Mediator--since there was no disagreement between God and man--Christ is the great reconciling Mediator needed in the new Covenant (*Ibid.*, pp. 145-146). In Christ the two disagreeing parties meet and make peace, and in Him they keep company one with another (*Ark*, B, p. 66). In the Mediator the houses of Heaven and Earth are allied (*Redemption*, p. 188) and to Him must all the praise be given for the peace made between God and man (*Ibid.*, p. 248).

<sup>157</sup> *Redemption*, pp. 145,147-148.

<sup>158</sup> Gillespie describes Christ as the (1) Mediator *redemptionis seu satisfactionis*, the one who made satisfaction by paying the price of Justice and to the full through His obedience unto death, (2) Mediator *impletionis*, the person in whom the whole Covenant is fulfilled and accomplished (*Ibid.*, pp. 149-150), (3) Mediator *impetrationis* who "obtained and procured that the proposal of his Redemption should be a concluded agreement" (*Ibid.*, p. 148), (4) Mediator *confirmationis*, the one in whom the Covenant was confirmed (*Ibid.*, p. 151), (5) Mediator *adstipulationis seu consensus nostri*, the Apostle and High-priest of our profession who "interposeth for the subjection of our consent and to get our heart to say Amen to the Covenant" (*Ibid.*, p. 151) (6) Mediator *conservationis*, "the person who keepeth the peace between the covenant parties, and makes the covenant sure" (*Ibid.*, p. 152), (7) Mediator *internuntius interpres*, "one that goes betwixt parties and carries the mind of each to the other" (*Ibid.*, p. 146), (8) Mediator *promulgationis*, "the chief herauld and messenger, the person by whom and by His appointed servants, the Covenant was and is preached" (*Ibid.*, p. 149), and (9) Mediator *applicationis seu intercessionis*, the "person that still mediates and officiates before God in our behalf, for fresh application of all his purchase" (*Ibid.*, p. 150).

The mediation of Christ is absolutely essential for the accomplishing of man's renewal.<sup>159</sup> And it is absolutely essential not only for unbelievers, but believers also, until they have put off the body of sin and entered the threshold of glory.<sup>160</sup> While one is away from God or in His very presence, he needs a Mediator to purify what is his own best estate. Therefore, the fresh conviction of the need of a Mediator is very healthy for the believer.<sup>161</sup> This mediation brings great comfort for those in Christ,<sup>162</sup> because He has carried with Him into Heaven the heart and bowels of a merciful and compassionate Mediator,<sup>163</sup> whose will is one with His Father's so that He receives all for which He asks.<sup>164</sup> Hence the doctrine of Christ's Suretyship answers "all tentations, discouragements, and doubtings that arise in the hearts of believers, concerning their

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<sup>159</sup> Gillespie explains, "Without the Mediator one could never have had any conformity with God; we lost the Image of God, but could never have regained it; but in Christ it is restored more excellently . . . . In a word: without a Mediator, no part of mans spiritual or everlasting good should have been brought to pass; forasmuch as all the good which God had from eternity decreed to do to man, was decreed to come to him in and through a Mediator: hence we are said to be chosen and ordained unto adoption, holiness, obedience, perseverance, etc. in and through him. . . ." (*Redemption*, p. 46).

<sup>160</sup> Gillespie observes, "If you have any direction to receive from God, if you have any blessing to receive, you need a Mediator to procure it to you, and to receive it for you: If you have any service to offer to God, any duty to perform, you need a Mediator both to afford you strength to perform it, and to offer it to God for you: if you have any evil to deprecate, you need a Mediator to avert it, whether it be for sins before, or after conversion" (*Ibid.*, pp. 159-160).

<sup>161</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>162</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 255.

<sup>163</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 236.

<sup>164</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 277.

Covenant-interests."<sup>165,166</sup>

### THE WORK OF CHRIST

Although Gillespie does teach that Christ acted representatively on behalf of His Church as the "public representative person" or "the chief confederate partie"--so that what He performed is said to be wrought by those in Him (especially in a legal sense)<sup>167</sup>--it appears that this aspect is confined largely to the secondary Covenant of Grace, rather than being made to play the more central role given it in the theologians of the Reformation.<sup>168</sup>

By divine appointment and by His own voluntary act,<sup>169</sup> Christ submitted Himself to the Law that He might perform the utmost degree of obedience to the will of God.<sup>170</sup> In this position of Christ works or doing were required of Him, not faith; Gillespie explains:

This faith professed by Christ, was faith of another kind, than that faith which is the condition of the Gospel-covenant to us; it was the faith of dependence and relying on God, for assistance and acceptance in doing the work, which was the eminent condition of the Covenant of Suretiship; but not a faith whereby he went out of himself to rely on another for righteousness; it was works, not Grace; not the Evangelical instrument, but the act and work of faith . . . . This faith professed by Christ. . . was a debt which the holy humane nature of Christ, being a creature, owed unto God; a debt, I say, such as did not exclude that from being meritorious, and part of his satisfaction

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<sup>165</sup>Ibid., p. 437.

<sup>166</sup>Gillespie also teaches that the mediation of Christ extends to the entire created order. See Ibid., pp. 109,111.

<sup>167</sup>Ibid., pp. 138,148,149,270,401; Ark, B, pp. 58,63; Ark, A, p. 137.

<sup>168</sup>Corbett, p. 85 and Ark, p. 43.

<sup>169</sup>Redemption, p. 22.

<sup>170</sup>Ibid., pp. 15-16.

(since it was part of his obedience taken on by voluntary compact) no more than his being made under the Law, whereby He was debtor to satisfy the penalty thereof, did exclude his suffering from being satisfactory; yet he was not by this kind of believing justified, and constituted righteous, by any righteousness received by faith, or imputed to him; as we are justified by faith.<sup>171</sup>

Gillespie apparently rejects any concept of a vicarious faith whereby Christ believes for us and is justified in our place. Rather, in his system the active obedience of Christ is necessary in order for His passive obedience to constitute a satisfaction for us.<sup>172</sup>

It is the substitutionary aspect of Christ's work which largely captivates Gillespie's attention,<sup>173</sup> as he stresses that Christ acted as our legal substitute or Surety before the Law,<sup>174</sup> dying that we might receive His inheritance.<sup>175</sup> In a rather remarkable passage concerned with the necessity of Christ's death, he declares:

If Christ had nothing to do but active obedience, the spirit of *Adam*, or confirmed Angels, might have done his turn: but he had another work to do (which would have crushed those excellent creatures) to satisfy justice, and lye under the infinite wrath of God, and therefore needed more than they received.<sup>176</sup>

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<sup>171</sup> Ibid., p. 88.

<sup>172</sup> He adds that Christ's advocacy is grounded on His justice so that He stands in Heaven as "Jesus the righteous" (Ibid., pp. 89-90). And He is not only a Surety for satisfying the violated Law for us, but also "Surety for performing the Condition and Commands of the Gospel and new Covenant in us" (Ibid., p. 406).

<sup>173</sup> He appears to describe the Covenant of Redemption in substitutionary, rather than representative terms. Corbett, p. 85.

<sup>174</sup> Hence his doctrine of the atonement is by-and-large forensic. Ibid., p. 81. See also *Redemption*, pp. 86, 359, 374, 381; *Ark*, A, p. 116, 137; *Ark*, B, pp. 58, 64.

<sup>175</sup> *Ark*, A, p. 332; *Redemption*, p. 449.

<sup>176</sup> Ibid., p. 233.



He suffered the debt which was due to divine justice,<sup>177</sup> but "Christ payed not the *idem*, but the *tantundem*; not the same that was *due*, but the value: for he suffered not the same pain, *numero* in number, but *specie* in kind."<sup>178</sup> Christ's death was a ransom (λύτρον) and a martyr's testimony (μάρτυριον) to seal this truth.<sup>179</sup> And His satisfaction is so ordered that He completely pays the debt and brings about the salvation of His own, but in such a way that may be honourable to grace.<sup>180</sup>

Christ's work involved the assumption of our nature which was sanctified by His partaking,<sup>181</sup> in that it was infused with habitual grace and made holy from the very first moment of His conception and the union of the two natures.<sup>182</sup> Therefore, Christ assumed humanity of our same lump in order that it might be repaired in the very root where it was defiled by Adam.<sup>183</sup> It is by the hypostatic union of the

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<sup>177</sup> Ibid., p. 359; "Rod," p. 209.

<sup>178</sup> *Redemption*, p. 406.

<sup>179</sup> *Ark*, B, p. 62; "Rod," p. XV.

<sup>180</sup> *Ark*, B, p. 72. Gillespie suggests, "How sweet and comfortable is this to the believer, that by the Suretiship of Christ, not only favour and grace is for him, but Justice also, that satisfied Justice is the sinful believers friend stands on his side; and if God be righteous and just, he will, he must, he cannot but forgive the confessing believer, and save him upon Christs account, who suffered and satisfied *punitive* Justice, and merited by a condign-price, holding proportion with the thing which he bought, that *communitative* and *remunerative* Justice should give this reward for his work." *Redemption*, p. 140.

<sup>181</sup> Ibid., p. 193.

<sup>182</sup> Ibid., p. 96.

<sup>183</sup> Ibid., p. 192. He states that Christ "took upon Him the nature of fallen man, but sanctified for and by the union with his divine nature." Ibid., pp. 457-458.



two natures in Christ that our nature is joined with God, giving it the greatest possible honour and exaltation, for "the Son of God and our nature have but one Sonship."<sup>184</sup>

But as great as this work of Christ is, in Gillespie's framework it is restricted to a certain group. The expression used of Christ, "head of every man," signifies "the head of every man in the church, not of every man in the world."<sup>185</sup> He condemns Moore's book<sup>186</sup> because in it "the

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<sup>184</sup> Ibid., pp. 184-185. Gillespie adds that Christ is glorified more in the destruction of man's enemy, the devil, because the victory was accomplished in our humanity when it was at its worst. Ibid., p. 194. He also emphasizes--in a rather unique way compared to his contemporaries--the saving significance of the resurrection of Christ, which he sees as Christ's "Coronation day in our nature." Corbett, pp. 82-83; Ark, A, pp. 9-10.

<sup>185</sup> Gillespie argues that (1) Christ is head of every man only in respect to dignity, excellency, and eminence (*Redemption*, p. 95), (2) He is not the head of heathen kings, Turkish principality, and the Roman emperor, for if ὑπὲρ πάντα means "all things," then Christ as Mediator must be Head and King of sheep, oxen, fowls, and fish ("Rod," pp. 105-106), (3) Christ has died for all men in the sense that His death was for all sorts of persons, and in Him the elect of the nations are blessed (*Redemption*, pp. 120-121), (4) Christ died only for the elect (Ibid., p. 395; "Questions," p. 117), (5) His death, intercession, bargain, and cautionary act were "for these only, in whom the Covenant is fulfilled, upon whose hearts it really acted, so that a new heart is given to them, and life eternal, and these were only the Elect" (*Redemption*, pp. 396-397), (6) the world loved by God is the elect of all nations ("Questions," p. 127), (7) in His resurrection and ascension Christ represented the state of the Elect (*Redemption*, p. 398), (8) Christ stood not as Surety for those who are within the visible Church or within the Covenant externally, "for many of these were neither given to him by the father, nor undertaken for by him" (Ibid., p. 395), (9) God knew them all by name for whom Christ undertook to be a ransom (Ibid., p. 396), and (10) "there was a definite certain number of Redeemed ones agreed upon, for whom Christ should pay a price" (Ibid., p. 80).

<sup>186</sup> The book was entitled *The Universality of God's Free Grace in Christ to Mankind Proclaimed and Displayed, etc. That All Might Be Comforted, Encouraged, Every One Confirmed and Assured of the Propitiation and Death of Christ for the Whole Race of Mankind, and so for Himself in Particular.*

same sweetness of gospel comforts, and the same assurance of an interest in Jesus Christ and his death, is imparted and extended to the humbled and the unhumbled."<sup>187</sup> And he condemns those "who found a middle and singular way of their own," that Christ died for all men upon condition; that is, He has redeemed all men on condition of faith. This doctrine gives no comfort to the soul because while it promises salvation to all believers, it is clear that all either cannot or do not believe.<sup>188</sup> And although he can describe Christ as a Mediator for all those that believe on Him,<sup>189</sup> he nevertheless insists that Christ "was not made Surety for all men conditionally, to wit, if they should believe."<sup>190,191</sup>

#### ELECTION AND PREDESTINATION

In his conception of election Gillespie appears to see Christ as having been elected as an individual, apart from His people, who are elected not so much in Him, as in following after Him.<sup>192</sup> By an eternal act of God, to which Christ did consent, He was set apart and given the proper

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<sup>187</sup>"Questions," pp. 70-71. In Gillespie's mind the idea of a universal atonement by the death of Christ is linked with a universal salvation. See *Ibid.*, p. 54. He also opposes Coleman's teaching "that Christ had taken away all their sins [Savages and Mohammedans] against the Law; so that all men now go upon a new score, and none shall be condemned or judged by the law, but by the gospel only . . . ." "Male," p. 18.

<sup>188</sup>"Questions," pp. 116-118. Therefore "this universal comfort taken from Christ's dying for all men upon condition of faith amounts to as much as nothing."

<sup>189</sup>*Redemption*, p. 323.

<sup>190</sup>*Ibid.*, p. 395.

<sup>191</sup>Concerning the effect of Christ's work and mediation in the angelic realm, See *Ibid.*, pp. 141, 260-262.

<sup>192</sup>Corbett, pp. 86-87.

instrumental fitness for performing the work of mediation and the offices of Prophet, Priest, and King.<sup>193</sup> In regard to the relationship between Christ's election and His people, Gillespie explains that

in regard of causality: (for although Christ be not the cause of God's love to the Elect, but the effect thereof, John 3:16: yet he is the cause of the effects and acts whereby it runneth forth towards us) Christ is the bottom of the relation betwixt God and his people.<sup>194</sup>

As in the other Federal Calvinists Gillespie sees election as issuing from the decrees of God, which are not to be understood as having an order of time, but of nature. First God decreed the glorifying of His mercy and justice upon all mankind, before any thing was determined concerning the creation and fall of man.<sup>195</sup> And the salvation of the elect is only a means toward the great end of glorifying grace as well as the end of sending Christ, which is the salvation of the chosen people.<sup>196</sup> Out of God's secret decree of election there are some deliberately chosen by God for salvation, while others are passed by.<sup>197</sup> Those selected are chosen in Christ and given to Him specifically, by name, of the Father.<sup>198</sup> It is largely because of the lack of

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<sup>193</sup> *Redemption*, pp. 51-53, 56, 59.

<sup>194</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 459. Gillespie does speak of believer's being chosen, as members of Christ's body, before He enters into the Covenant concerning our Redemption. *Ibid.*, pp. 78, 177; *Ark*, B, p. 35.

<sup>195</sup> *Redemption*, pp. 54-55.

<sup>196</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 56. Thus it is out of the investing of Christ as the Head and first-born of the elect family that His body, the Church, is called. *Ibid.*, p. 79.

<sup>197</sup> "Questions," p. 122; *Ark*, B, p. 155.

<sup>198</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 35, 154-155; *Redemption*, p. 435.

stress on the representative nature of Christ's work in the covenant of redemption that God's election is seen as a selection of specific individuals to be brought into covenanting capacity apart from the election of Christ which is private and personal.<sup>199</sup> In the place of a solidarity of Christ and man, Gillespie views the covenant of grace as "God's great secret and mystery, wherein he communicateth with his people, and which is made known only to those whom he admitteth to an intimate familiarity with himself."<sup>200</sup> Those under the covenant of works God is said to hate for their works' sake,<sup>201</sup> but ministers must, nevertheless, offer Christ to all on condition of faith, since they are unable to determine the reprobate. However, Gillespie insists:

Love and hatred in God, and in his Son Jesus Christ, being eternal and unchangeable (for *actus Dei immanentes sunt aeterni*), it followeth that if there was such a decree of God, or any such meaning or intention of Christ, as to give his body for Judas, whom he knew infallibly to be lost, and since that same conditional meaning or intention could not be without a conditional love of God and of Christ to Judas and his salvation, this love doth still continue in God, and in Christ, to save Judas now in hell, upon condition of his believing, which every Christian I think will abominate.<sup>202</sup>

As to how men can be assured of their election, Gillespie teaches that the passing from nature to grace and from darkness to light is discerned and perceived by its proper marks. These sure and infallible marks are unfeigned love to the brethren, regeneration, spiritual motions, desires, and other such operations of the spiritual life.<sup>203</sup> Any

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<sup>199</sup>Corbett, p. 86.

<sup>200</sup>Ark, A, p. 10.

<sup>201</sup>Ibid., p. 219.

<sup>202</sup>Redemption, pp. 209-210.

<sup>203</sup>"Questions," p. 104.

assurance apart from these evidences and marks of sanctification is contrary to Scripture;<sup>204</sup> in fact, Gillespie considers that person to be deluded who thinks himself to be fully assured of His interest in Christ "when, in the meantime his conscience cannot bear him witness of the least mark of true grace or sanctification in him."<sup>205,206</sup> These marks are considered to be absolutely essential for distinguishing between a well-grounded and an ill-grounded assurance.<sup>207</sup> It is added that while gracious marks can prove our justification and peace with God, they can in no way be instrumental in working justification, which is proper only to faith.<sup>208</sup>

#### THE CONCEPT OF THE COVENANT

Gillespie's entire theology centres in a certain understanding of the Covenant which appears throughout all his writings. And he appears to use "covenant" and "contract"

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<sup>204</sup> Although Gillespie admits that Satan can deceive the soul in the way of marks, such a mistake is explained as a defect in the individuals, not in the marks (Ibid., p. 105). He also makes it clear that these marks always are mixed with corruptions in any saint, but this imperfection does not prove that an imperfect grace has been received from God (Ibid., p. 116).

<sup>205</sup> Ibid., p. 109.

<sup>206</sup> He strongly reacts to what he calls the Antinomian way--which forbids the seeking of assurance by any marks or fruits of sanctification because they are considered unsafe and dangerous--containing four points--(1) knowledge of our "lost state by the least sin, our misery without Christ, and what need we have of him," (2) the sight of the excellency and worthy of Christ and His benefits, (3) a "taking and having of Christ and his benefits to one's own self in particular" and (4) "to be filled with great joy and thankful zeal." Ibid., p. 112.

<sup>207</sup> Ibid., p. 105.

<sup>208</sup> Ibid., p. 104.

interchangeably as well as substitutes like "paction," "bargain," or "treaty,"<sup>209</sup> In defining a Covenant there are two essentials: (1) that there be more than one party and (2) that there be agreements which are for the benefit of all the confederates.<sup>210</sup> The nature of all proper covenants also requires "some sort of condition and mutual performances."<sup>211</sup> In describing Covenants between God and man<sup>212</sup> Gillespie asserts that there are many ways in which God's covenants resemble human covenants.<sup>213</sup> But God's covenants are more binding and inviolable,<sup>214</sup> and are obligatory--whether man consents or not.<sup>215,216</sup>

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<sup>209</sup>Ark, A, p. 49; Ark, B, pp. 23, 58; *Redemption*, p. 348.

<sup>210</sup>Ark, A, pp. 49,51.

<sup>211</sup>Furthermore, all lawful covenants, both human and divine, must be of a binding force and nature, making them inviolable, with a sacred and irrevocable obligation upon all the parties. Ibid., pp. 50-53.

<sup>212</sup>Gillespie teaches that "there is no substantial difference between Gods making a covenant with us, and our making a Covenant with him. . . ." We are said to make a covenant with God when we accept His offers and submit to His conditions, taking upon ourselves at our own consent the bond of the Covenant. Ibid., p. 164.

<sup>213</sup>Ibid., p. 105.

<sup>214</sup>Ibid., pp. 75-76, 144.

<sup>215</sup>Ibid., p. 102.

<sup>216</sup>Moreover, (1) God's covenant excels all human covenants in respect to freedom, stability, perfection, satisfaction, and advantage (Ibid., p. 140), (2) "a Covenant with God is lyable to no uncertainty on his part, for there can be no breach upon God's part; and upon our part, his covenant made with us in Christ, is not subject to these chances which violateth humane Covenants, but it standeth fast even with the Covenant breaker and sure (Ibid., p. 144), (3) the benefits are not mutual since nothing can be added to His absolute perfection and all-sufficiency (Ibid. p. 101), (4) the blessings of God's covenant are eternal (*Redemption*, p. 66), (5) God is completely free to either make or not make a Covenant with man, and all the conditions on both sides are His own (Ark, A, pp. 100-101), and (6) no covenant between God and man is between equals, but God is absolutely superior and maintains His place of sovereignty (Ibid., pp. 100,291; Ark, B, p. 64; *Redemption*, p. 67).



In the study of Gillespie's works it becomes obvious that the Covenant<sup>217</sup> is not understood as existing in a unified whole from all eternity as in Calvin and Knox. Because nature and grace are radically distinct God is said to have made two covenants--the Covenant of Works (the law of works) with man and the Covenant of Grace (the law of faith) with His redeemed people<sup>218</sup> The Covenant of Grace, furthermore, is not to be understood as a repairing of the Covenant of Nature, "by helping lesse and maimed nature, but in quite another thing, a divorce from that husband, and marrying with another."<sup>219</sup>

Although Gillespie teaches that there are two Covenants ordained by God, a closer observation reveals the existence of three covenants because the Covenant of Grace is subdivided into the Covenant of Redemption (or Suretyship) between Christ and the Father and the Covenant of Reconciliation between man and God. It must be admitted, however, that Gillespie does

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<sup>217</sup> The Covenant concept is dear to Gillespie for several reasons: (1) "God dealeth not with man in any other way, but by this Covenant" (*Ark*, A, p. 14), (2) all men are under one of the covenants made by God (*Ibid.*, p. 282), (3) for the believer the covenant is the very hinge "upon which the whole business of Salvation from beginning to end is turned about " (*Ibid.*, p. 29), (4) in eternity a man will be judged not by his actions, but by his covenant state (*Ibid.*, p. 176), and (5) the blessings of God are conveyed through no other means than His covenant (*Ibid.*, pp. 140,167).

<sup>218</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 15,98,156,157,159,181-184.

<sup>219</sup> *Ark*, B, p. 15. This total separation is necessary since "it is impossible that a man should at the same time be in the state of nature and the state of Grace, no man can be justified by Faith and by Works, by inherent righteousness and by imputed righteousness; No man can at once come to God by a Mediator and without a Mediator." Therefore, faith and works cannot be mingled, but man must come to God through Christ alone in the Covenant of Grace. *Ark*, A, pp. 273-274.



show a concern for the danger of separating redemption and grace in such a way that their fundamental unity is impaired. And he attempts to draw these two together more closely together than do either Dickson or Rutherford.<sup>220</sup> While the two covenants are to be distinguished, they are not to be divided, since the Covenant of Grace has its rise and origin in the Covenant of Redemption. He defines the connection between them in terms of cause and effect.<sup>221</sup>

Perhaps the most beautiful and theologically profound passages in Gillespie's works are those dealing with the relationship between Jesus Christ and the Covenant. In His Person, the Mediator, the whole Covenant is abridged and summarized.<sup>222</sup> He is the Angel and Messenger of the Covenant, who carries, interprets, and declares its good news,<sup>223</sup> as well as its chief content, the sum of all its blessings.<sup>224</sup> And He is the Testator, operating on and for both sides,<sup>225</sup> the great Administrator over the entire managing of the Covenant,<sup>226</sup> and the great Undertaker and Cautioner who obtains the consent of both parties, receiving their amen to the blessed transac<sup>c</sup>tion of friendship and union.<sup>227</sup> Because

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<sup>220</sup>Corbett, p. 81; *Ark*, A, p. 5.

<sup>221</sup>Corbett, p. 81; *Ark*, A, p. 126.

<sup>222</sup>*Redemption*, pp. 453-454, 456-457.

<sup>223</sup>*Ibid.*, pp. 328-239, 332-333; *Ark*, A, p. 27.

<sup>224</sup>*Redemption*, pp. 343, 455, 460, 465, 466.

<sup>225</sup>*Ibid.*, p. 350; *Ark*, A, p. 334; *Ark*, B, p. 37.

<sup>226</sup>*Redemption*, pp. 21, 61, 152, 459, 463.

<sup>227</sup>Gillespie explains concerning Christ that "the Covenant was

of Him and His death<sup>228</sup> there is great assurance given to the believer concerning his "Covenant-interest;" Christ is the Witness of the Covenant who removes all doubts about things pertaining to God and our salvation--especially since the Covenant was made with Him as its chief party, and the believer only as subordinate to Him.<sup>229</sup> And since the Covenant is made with Him as the public representative of the elect family, it is a Covenant that is free, sure, and stable;<sup>230</sup> Gillespie asserts, "God must first break to Christ, ere he break to us, *his* Covenant must fail, ere *ours* fail."<sup>231</sup>

Gillespie's discussion of the covenants includes long and involved sections on the agreements and disagreements between the Covenant of Works and the Covenant of Grace,<sup>232</sup>

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given to him, to be fulfilled on both sides, for he is the person which was sent to perform all that God had promised to his people. . . . By him it was fulfilled upon our part; for he is the person upon whom our help was laid, even to perform whatsoever is required of us by the Covenant . . . . Because upon the matter, Christ is the very thing which is mutually stipulated upon both sides!" Ibid., pp. 459-460. See also Ibid., pp. 327-328, 360, 372, 454, 459, 460, 466; Ark, B, pp. 25-26, 62.

<sup>228</sup>The death of Christ is very important in Gillespie's understanding of the place of Christ in the Covenant. His Testament is seen as the "voluntary and free disposition of the dying Mediators Goods, to be possessed by the Heirs of the Promise." Ark, A, pp. 315, 317-318, 335.

<sup>229</sup>*Redemption*, pp. 300, 323, 455, 469. The teaching is clear in this regard that one can be in the Covenant of Grace only by being in Christ.

<sup>230</sup>Ark, A, pp. 315, 317, 318, 335; *Redemption*, pp. 45-46, 300, 461-462.

<sup>231</sup>Ark, B, p. 26.

<sup>232</sup>See Ark, A, pp. 161-269. Note particularly that (1) while the Covenant of Works tends to the glory of God as Creator, the Covenant of Grace tends to His glory as Redeemer (pp. 236-237), (2) while the former was made with Adam, the latter is made with men individually before God

the one made in Adam as the representative for the entire race and the other transacted in the Second Adam as representing His chosen family.<sup>233</sup> In both the order of time and nature the Covenant of Works had to come first,<sup>234</sup> but in another sense the Covenant of Grace is prior. In the intention of God the Covenant of Grace went before the Covenant of Works, for the latter was a means to serve the former, in making a way for the Covenant of Grace in which God's favour was to be manifested by a new covenant to lost man. Gillespie proclaims:

The Covenant of Grace was first made with us virtually in Christ, before the Covenant of Works was actually made in Adam; because in Christ Jesus, *Grace was given to us, and promises of eternal life given to us before the world began*, II Timothy 1:9; Titus 1:2.<sup>235</sup>

The Covenant of Works, given by the gracious favour of God,<sup>236</sup> was written on man's heart, containing knowledge of the will of God concerning man's duty and obedience as well as the blessedness which he was to enjoy by his obedience.<sup>237</sup> It did not require man's consent for its validation, but was commanded him.<sup>238</sup> The righteousness required was a natural

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(pp. 245-246), (3) while the former needed no Mediator, the latter required a Mediator (pp. 264-266), and (4) while the former was made with an undeserving creature, the latter was made with an ill-deserving creature (Ark, B, pp. 2-3).

<sup>233</sup>Ark, A, pp. 161,179.

<sup>234</sup>Ibid., pp. 232-233.

<sup>235</sup>Ibid., p. 234.

<sup>236</sup>Ibid., pp. 137,197; Ark, B, pp. 2-3.

<sup>237</sup>Ark, A, pp. 102-103,184.

<sup>238</sup>Ibid., p. 311. Gillespie also suggests that although one may come from the Covenant of Works to the Covenant of Grace, "one who is in Covenant with God through Grace cannot return to the Covenant of Works." Ibid., p. 283.

righteousness of man's own, involving a faith of dependence upon the Creator, but not in God as a Redeemer or in Christ as Mediator.<sup>239</sup> By man's perfect obedience, righteousness, life and the enjoyment of God were promised to him; thus this covenant was founded upon man's natural ability given him in creation.<sup>240</sup> The Covenant of Works was transacted between God and Adam immediately, without the intervention of a Mediator, for man was not alienated from God and he needed no access to God, since he was not terrified with any sin. Man's communion with God was immediate and absolute, not relatively and through Christ. Nor was there any need of a Mediator to procure the acceptation of the service offered by man, "for it was then perfect and spotlesse, then he and his service stood upon their own bottom." Gillespie reasons:

As for that which some say, that the great disproportion betwixt the Creator and the creature, did require a Mediator even in the state of integrity: (because that it hath no ground in the Scripture) Gods condescension to deal with *Adam* in the way of a Covenant, whereby he came over the infinit distance and inequality that is betwixt him and his creature, to deal familiarly, notwithstanding the disproportion that was betwixt the parties, and his speaking to *Adam* by his own immediate voice, without the intervention of any third Person, and Adams not being afraid at Gods speaking to him in the immediate manner before the fall, putteth the matter out of question with me. I do not deny but the second Person, the Son of God, did work in that transaction with *Adam*, as a work common to all the three Persons; but that he acted as Mediator, as one that was betwixt the Parties is without all ground in the Scriptures.<sup>241,242</sup>

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<sup>239</sup> Ibid., pp. 198-199.

<sup>240</sup> Ibid., pp. 159,160,181,185,199. Gillespie adds that "even in that estate, *Adam* was not able to obey any command of God *de facto*, without some help from him. But the help that he received, or was to receive from God to obey any command, he was the more obliged unto God, so far was he from meriting thereby." Ibid., pp. 197-198.

<sup>241</sup> Ibid., pp. 200-201.

<sup>242</sup> Gillespie further argues that (1) by the Covenant of Works God promised punishment for disobedience and reward for obedience (Ibid.,

After the Covenant of Works was broken God as a merciful Father in Jesus Christ gave to mankind the Covenant of Grace.<sup>243</sup> It is purely of His mercy that this new court of righteousness has been established where sinners may appear by faith in their Advocate who pleads for them and they are judged by the Gospel, rather than the Law.<sup>244</sup> This new covenant can be considered as being in accordance with justice only in so far as it was transacted between God and Christ, but toward us it is purely of favour and grace toward the infinitely ill-deserving.<sup>245</sup> Therefore it is founded on nothing in us, but upon God's covenant with Christ who was

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p. 185), (2) there was no hope of renewal if the covenant were broken (Ibid., p. 218; Ark, B, p. 103), (3) all men begin under this covenant as unregenerate (Ark, A, pp. 216,224,313,314), (4) those under this Covenant having no mediator or advocate, "must either intercede for themselves, save themselves, work righteousness themselves, or perish eternally" (Ibid., pp. 218,275; Ark, B, p. 275), (5) this way of righteousness is now closed to man (Ark, A, pp. 201,211,212), (6) this covenant, however, serves "to discover the wofull,sad condition of all Adams posterity, by vertue of the breach of this Covenant" (Ibid., p. 214), (7) it is a covenant of strict justice and heavy bondage (Ibid., pp. 218-219,275-277,283), and (8) this covenant has sacraments annexed unto it, but these neither signify Christ nor relate in any way to Him. The tree of life served to admonish Adam of the life which he had received from God and to confirm him in that happiness which was to be his if he continued in obedience. And the tree of the knowledge of good and evil signified the experience which would be to Adam upon his transgression (Ibid., pp. 189-192,230).

<sup>243</sup> Ibid., pp. 166-167,174,290. This covenant is designated as (1) a decree of God, (2) a covenant or agreement between two parties, (3) a Testament, and (4) a promise (Ibid., pp. 299-301). It is a proper and real Covenant which is sure, everlasting, ordered, perfect, holy, satisfying, free, and stable (Ibid., p. 314; Ark, B, p. 108).

<sup>244</sup> Ark, A, p. 212.

<sup>245</sup> Ibid., pp. 136-237.

given "for a Covenant of the people."<sup>246</sup> As Adam represented us in the Covenant of Works, so Christ represents us in the Covenant of Grace, undertaking, stipulating, promising, engaging, and performing for us and in our name.<sup>247</sup> Because it is performed in Christ those in this covenant are in a place of total dependence on Him.<sup>248,249</sup>

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<sup>246</sup> *Redemption*, pp. 1,44. Gillespie teaches that this covenant was conceived in the mind and counsel of God before the creation of the world: hence, before we had any being grace and life were promised to us in Christ. *Ark*, B, p. 4.

<sup>247</sup> *Ark*, A, p. 313.

<sup>248</sup> *Ark*, B, p. 65.

<sup>249</sup> Gillespie further argues concerning this covenant that (1) through the covenant Christ and all His offices are communicated to us (*Ibid.*, p. 122), (2) its blessings are intended only for a small flock (*Ark*, A, pp. 320-321), (3) it was finished before our consent was given and does not require our response for its validity (*Ibid.*, pp. 150,311), (4) as soon as one is in Christ, he is brought into a new Covenant-state (*Ark*, B, pp. 313-314), (5) while individual believers can in no way perform Covenant transactions with God, they are considered as being in Christ (*Ibid.*, p. 150; *Redemption*, p. 347), (6) it is with all who are in the visible Church (*Ibid.*, p. 331; *Ark*, A, p. 368; *Ark*, B, p. 150), (7) it is a covenant where God's honour is restored and our friendship with Him renewed (*Ark*, A, p. 106), (8) it is a covenant between God and man, which serves to give men the highest assurance and the best security concerning their chief and most precious interests (*Ibid.*, p. 141), (9) in it all three Persons of the Trinity are in Covenant with us, for it continues the love of the Father, the grace of Christ, and the communion of the Holy Ghost (*Ark*, B, pp. 122,149), (10) the Executor of Christ's Testament is the Holy Spirit (*Ark*, A, pp. 322,325), (11) this covenant contains the greatest mysteries and secrets in the world (*Ibid.*, pp. 11-12,42-43,140; *Redemption*, pp. 301,311), (12) the peculiar effect of this covenant is a transforming and saving knowledge which constitutes a Christian (*Ark*, A, p. 21), (13) God has no saving dealings with man apart from this covenant since it is the hinge upon which the whole business of salvation is turned from beginning to end (*Ibid.*, p. 29), and (14) the doctrine of this covenant "is the very sum and substance, and marrow of the knowledge of the Scriptures" (*Ibid.*, p. 37).



While Gillespie insists that the Covenant of Grace "hath in it something of the nature of conditional promises, the accomplishment thereof is suspended untill some condition in them be performed. . . .",<sup>250</sup> and that "it is a Covenant which requireth and supposeth something to be personally done by us, (beside what Christ did for us, and in our name) before we can actually have any benefit by it . . .",<sup>251</sup> he also insists that there are no "if's" which can frustrate it. He explains:

It is a Covenant which is also an absolute testament, bequeathing freely and absolutely to us, the things that are covenanted with us; all the *If's* and conditions in the Covenant, are but the determined and appointed means to bring us to the end, which are absolutely promised. So that, I say, it is a free and absolute Covenant, which

1. hath no conditions which are to be fulfilled in our strength, but such as are to be fulfilled by Christs undertaking for us:
2. No conditions which are not a part of Gods part of the Covenant, which are not promised to be fulfilled in us.<sup>252</sup>

Therefore, the Covenant can be understood as having within it something of the nature of absolute promises, that is, promises determined by God without regard to our response

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<sup>250</sup>Ibid., p. 368.

<sup>251</sup>Ark, B, pp. 151-152. He stresses individual responsibility in the Covenant. Ark, A, p. 176; Ark, B, pp. 151-152; *Redemption*, pp. 309-347.

<sup>252</sup>Ark, B, pp. 4-5. He also asserts, "The perfecting and closing of the Covenant actually and formally with us, even that is of God, he maketh the Covenant with us, not we with him, because it is all ready and propounded to us in the Gospel, he dealeth with us to get our consent to the bargain, to procure the Brides hand and subscription to the Contract; he leadeth our wavering hand to write our own name in the covenant, the great chartor made with Christ . . . ." Ark, A, p. 296.



since He has determined to accomplish the response in us.<sup>253,254</sup>

Although in Gillespie's framework the Covenant of Grace is divided into the Covenant of Redemption (or Suretyship) between God and Christ and the Covenant of Reconciliation whereby individuals are actually brought into a right relationship with God,<sup>255</sup> he is not always clear on the relationship between these two covenants.<sup>256</sup> The foundation of all God's dealings with us in the Covenant of Reconciliation is understood to be His dealings with Christ in the Covenant of Redemption.<sup>257</sup>

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<sup>253</sup> Ibid., pp. 367-368. It is by this Covenant of Grace that we are given the strength to fulfill all the commands and conditions of the Gospel, for whatever the Gospel requires of us is given by the Covenant of Grace. Ibid., p. 30.

<sup>254</sup> Gillespie also teaches concerning this covenant that (1) it is a holy, sacred, inviolable, and everlasting covenant which can never be annulled (Ark, B, pp. 112, 146; Ark, A, p. 285), (2) it is a perfect Covenant in every respect (Ark, B, pp. 118-123), (3) it is indeclinably effectual in producing that which it promises (Ark, A, p. 224), (4) the promises and blessings are not to be separated from the commands, duties, and condition of the Covenant (Ark, B, p. 38), (5) The Covenant can also be described as a Covenant of Commerce and Trade between God and His people (Ark, A, pp. 108-109, 110-111, 115), (6) those in the covenant are especially blessed because instead of keeping it, the covenant keeps them (Ibid., p. 336; Ark, B, p. 112), and (7) there is a distinction between our actual covenanting with God individually from our covenanting with God virtually in Christ before the foundation of the world, when we were in Him as the public representative of His own people (Ibid., p. 153).

<sup>255</sup> *Redemption*, p. 1.

<sup>256</sup> On the one hand he affirms, "There is a great affinity between the Covenant of Redemption made with Christ, and the Covenant of Reconciliation made with sinners; but it is not the same Covenant that is made with Christ which is made with us." Ibid., p. 113. Yet he also maintains, "There is such a near and strict conjunction betwixt these Covenants, that they cannot be separated; take away the Covenant of Suretyship, and the Covenant of Grace falls to the ground; this can no more stand without that, than a house without a foundation; take away the foundation, and the whole building and superstructure falls." Ibid., p. 123.

<sup>257</sup> Ibid., pp. 3, 126-127, 459; Ark, B, p. 35.

The grand instrumentality of both is assigned to Christ, and both tend to the same ends--the glory of God, the union of God and man, and the communication of God to man through Christ.<sup>258,259</sup> Because all the Covenant rights of the redeemed are consolidated in Christ their Head,<sup>260</sup> there is great comfort to His members who know that the rights and charters are in His sure hand and perfect management.<sup>261</sup> But Gillespie insists that while Christ has fulfilled the law for us through the Covenant of Redemption, there are duties which remain for us; that is, the Gospel enables the believer to perform the Moral Law of God.<sup>262,263</sup>

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<sup>258</sup>*Redemption*, pp. 114-116.

<sup>259</sup>Gillespie also lists a number of contrasts between these two covenants. Whereas in the Covenant of Redemption Christ takes our Law-place, in the Covenant of Reconciliation we take His Law-place (*Ibid.*, pp. 116-117); while in the former the parties are God and God-man, in the latter the parties are God and man; while the former was made with God and an equal, the latter is made between God and men who are not His equals (*Ibid.*, pp. 118-120); although in the former there is no Mediator, in the latter there must be a Mediator because the two parties are at variance. In the former the commands were to Christ alone, but in the latter the commands and conditions are to us alone (*Ibid.*, pp. 120-121; Corbett, p. 88). Also while in the former the transaction was concluded in Christ before we could respond, the latter offers conditional blessings and is not formal without our consent (*Redemption*, pp. 122-123).

<sup>260</sup>*Redemption*, p. 92.

<sup>261</sup>*Ibid.*, pp. 130-131.

<sup>262</sup>*Ark*, A, pp. 58,139. He teaches that the Suretyship of Christ obliges us to believe and be holy (*Redemption*, p. 144), but this obedience is one which we render freely and willingly (*Ark*, A, p. 169). He explains, "The Law and Justice may require both satisfaction and obedience in different respects, or in regard of different actions: for it is not the same thing which we obey, and for which Christ makes satisfaction: for he satisfied for our disobedience, not for our obedience, beside, Christs satisfaction is for disobedience to the Covenant of works: our obedience even to the Law, is the obedience to the Gospel-Covenant to which the Law is reduced by Christ who made it his Law in this Covenant" (*Redemption*, pp. 417-418).

<sup>263</sup>Concerning the relationship between the Old and New Testaments

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In his treatment of salvation there is a rather strong stress on the all-sufficiency of Christ who Himself embodies all spiritual blessings, in whom there is reconciliation, and who makes us acceptable before the Father.<sup>264</sup> Since He is the store-house of all God's blessings, the individual must be joined with Him;<sup>265</sup> Gillespie observes:

And indeed Christs Suretiship, was a mixing and mingling with his people; it was such mingling with us, as the like was never heard of, a mingling of natures (if I may use the word), by a wonderful personal union, two natures meeting in one person, and yet remaining distinct; and a mystical union whereby he is in us, and we are in him: a mingling of interests; his interests are ours, and our interests are his; whereby in some respect he cometh in our place,

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it is observed that (1) the Covenant of Grace exists both in the Old and in the New Testament ("Questions," p. 90; *Ark*, A, pp. 5-6, 40-41), (2) thus the old and new covenants are one and the same covenant in all substantial points (*Ibid.*, pp. 158, 182), (3) the sacrificial system of the Old Testament typified Christ ("Questions," p. 90; "Rod," pp. 47, 62), and (4) there is a fuller knowledge of the things of God under the New Testament economy, with better promises, better sonship, and a fuller pouring out of the Spirit of Adoption (*Ark*, A, pp. 38, 42, 353, 354, 358, 362-263). However, there seems to be a discrepancy in Gillespie's thought as to whether or not the New Testament has abrogated the Old (Cf. *Ibid.*, pp. 182, 361 with *Ibid.*, p. 349). And while in some places he insists that Moses was the mediator of the first Testament (*Ibid.*, pp. 354-355), in other places he maintains that Christ was the Mediator in both Testaments (*Redemption*, pp. 255-256). He also lists several contrasts between the mediation of Christ under the two administrations:

<i>Old</i>	<i>New</i>
(1) Mediator veiled	(2) Mediator seen
(2) Mediator of administration of terror and fear	(2) Mediator of peace
(3) Mediator of distance and discord	(3) Mediator of peace and reconciliation
(4) Christ the Mediator virtually	(4) Christ the Mediator actually
(5) Christ not a complete Mediator	(5) Christ a complete Mediator
(6) Christ invisibly a Mediator	(6) Christ visibly the Mediator

(*Ark*, A, pp. 335, 336; *Redemption*, pp. 256-257.

<sup>264</sup> *Redemption*, pp. 134, 188, 456, 477; "Assertion," p. 64; "Questions," pp. 65, 118; *Ark*, A, pp. 105, 337-338, 353; *Ark*, B, p. 179; "Rod," p. 47.

<sup>265</sup> *Redemption*, pp. 97, 151, 156, 210, 223, 455, 474-475, 477; *Ark*, B, pp. 46, 48, 50; *Ark*, A, p. 340.

and we come in his place . . . .<sup>266</sup>

This union produces a federal relationship, or a legal oneness, whereby Christ represents us as if His works were performed by us; "we are one after his death and Testament, we are interested in his Name, and his Name put upon us, and interested in our prayers and other services done in his Name."<sup>267</sup> By our participation in Him we have that which is His by propriety, and the habits of grace are conveyed to our souls.<sup>268,269.</sup>

All of salvation flows from the grace of God alone;<sup>270</sup> thus there is no motive, inducement, reason, or recompense to be found in the creature.<sup>271</sup> The fact that a substitute is allowed to act for man is of grace, as is the fact also that He gives us Himself, and the fact that God freely gives

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<sup>266</sup> *Redemption*, p. 210.

<sup>267</sup> *Ark*, A, pp. 333-334.

<sup>268</sup> "Questions," p. 104. It is added that by participation in Christ we have what He acquired by the price and satisfaction which He gave to divine justice (*Ark*, A, p. 137), as we are put into one Writ with Christ (*Redemption*, p. 131).

<sup>269</sup> Therefore, because of this teaching in Gillespie, it appears that there is an overstatement in Corbett when he accuses Gillespie of having "lost the radical sense of identification of the believer with Christ in union with Him" (p.89). Gillespie does see the believer as united with Christ and the benefits of salvation issuing from this union. But the question to be asked is whether there is the same stress given to this central truth which is found in the Reformers. Here there appears to be more ground for criticism.

<sup>270</sup> *Ark*, A, pp. 120-121, 137, 174.

<sup>271</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 138. Gillespie asserts that "it was free with God from eternity, whether he would recover any of the race of fallen man, or not, as pleased him; since he was no more tyed to men than to Angels, to whom he sent no Saviour when they fell, nor hath designed any of the fallen Angels unto Redemption . . . ." *Redemption*, p. 392.

us all the Covenant benefits.<sup>272</sup> Gillespie observes that while Adam hastened to destroy himself, in His grace God hastened to provide a physician--even before man fell sick.<sup>273</sup> And when man lay sick unto death by virtue of His fall, God hurried with the views of a Saviour, for His grace and love had longed to be manifested.<sup>274</sup> God sent His Son to bear the weight of the lost world--in such a way that both the justice and love of the Father would be honoured--and gives faith to those who cannot believe.<sup>275</sup> Even though the believer is weak Christ has purchased by His death the power to bend His will, thus enabling him to accept the covenant offer and enter into it,<sup>276</sup> and He stands engaged for the believer's perseverance, that his faith fail not.<sup>277</sup>

For Gillespie there is but one sort of conversion which is a saving transformation, and it is a conversion from nature to grace, from sin to sanctification, and from the power of Satan to God. He defines habitual conversion as the first infusion of the life and habits of grace and actual conversion of the soul's beginning to act from that life and those habits. After the sinner has spiritual life created in him and has these supernatural habits infused in the soul, he is said "to convert, repent, and believe."<sup>278</sup> Indeed the

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<sup>272</sup>Ibid., pp. 391-392; *Ark*, B, pp. 11,12,13,15,46,158.

<sup>273</sup>*Ark*, A, p. 211.

<sup>274</sup>*Redemption*, p. 118.

<sup>275</sup>"Questions," p. 121; *Ark*, B, p. 72.

<sup>276</sup>*Redemption*, pp. 265-267; 395.

<sup>277</sup>Ibid., p. 407.

<sup>278</sup>"*Rod*," pp. 234-236.

man in Christ is in a most glorious estate which far surpasses the condition of Adam in his integrity.<sup>279</sup> He is in a sure and firm estate and in a Covenant which can never be disannulled because of Christ's mediation, for

Christ can no more fail in any thing pertaining to our peace with God, and our Salvation, than he can break his faith of Suretiship, and fail in Covenant-faithfulness, and the Bonds that he hath given to *Jehovah* . . . . By the covenant of Suretiship passed betwixt *Jehovah* and Christ, the believer is in a sure confirmed state; he is not in a tottering, slippery, mutable condition, as were the Angels that fell, and like to Adams first Covenant-state; but the believer is in a sure confirmed state as sure as the Elect Angels who never fell.<sup>280</sup>

#### INDIVIDUAL RESPONSE

Of all the duties of the covenant faith has the first place as the "mother-duty," the first principle of life in the believer, before either repentance or obedience. Faith joins one to Christ, causes him to forsake all other lovers, "presseth sweet fruit and juyce" out of Christ, and most certainly causes good works to follow.<sup>281</sup> Peace is made.

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<sup>279</sup> Gillespie sees this superiority in 4 respects: (1) the certainty of perseverance in this Covenant state of grace, (2) "the honour unto which our nature is advanced above *Adams* nature in innocency, and above the nature of Angels, in regard of the personal union of the nature of fallen man with the divine nature," (3) the mystical and spiritual union which exists between Christ and us by the Covenant of Grace (Adam was joined only by a union of affections), (4) the manner of enjoying God--"Adam had communion with God in Paradise, but he had not the inhabitation of God in him, as the Believer hath" (*Ark*, A, p. 235). Thus the Covenant of Grace is exactly proportioned and suited for restoring fallen man to as good and a better condition than that from which he fell, giving him the perfect righteousness of Christ which far surpasses all other righteousness of angels and men (*Ark*, B, pp. 118-120). Because the benefits of salvation are superior to the natural condition of unfallen man Gillespie is virtually led into the *felix culpa* notion (*Ark*, A, pp. 215-216).

<sup>280</sup> *Redemption*, p. 137-138; See also *Ark*, A, p. 39; *Ark*, B, pp. 22-23, 26, 29.

<sup>281</sup> *Ark*, B, pp. 51-53.



with God "by Christ believed on,"<sup>282</sup> and every poor sinner who comes to Christ, believing that He can purge his sins and save his soul, has a true, through perhaps imperfect, faith. True faith is that which believes in the all-sufficiency of Christ and draws near to God in and through Christ; indeed this kind of faith will not be despised.<sup>283,284</sup>

And this type of faith is necessarily connected to repentance in Gillespie's framework. He cites the woman who wept at Jesus' feet (Luke 7:47-48) when her faith stirred her sorrow and kindled her affection and points out that Christ intimates mercy only after she had wept much.<sup>285</sup> Although there must be some work of faith and some apprehension of the love of God before there can be true evangelical repentance, "yet this repentance helpeth us to believe more firmly that our sins are forgiven."<sup>286</sup>

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<sup>282</sup>George Gillespie, "A Sermon Preached Before the Right Honourable House of Lords, in the Abbey Church at Westminster, August 27, 1645" (Malachi 3:2), in *The Works of Mr. George Gillespie, Minister of Edinburgh, and One of the Commissioners From Scotland to the Westminster Assembly, 1644*, collected by W. M. Hetherington, I (Edinburgh: Robert Ogle and Oliver and Boyd, 1846), p. 18 (Hereafter designated as "Malachi").

<sup>283</sup>"Questions," p. 118.

<sup>284</sup>Gillespie condemns the Antinomian way of faith as he writes, "This Antinomian durst not adventure upon this trial by the Scripture marks of faith; yea, to avoid this, he runs into a great and dangerous error, that the whole essence of faith is nothing else but the echo of the heart answering the voice of the Spirit, and saying, My sins are forgiven me; as if there were no faith where there is no assurance of the forgiveness of sins, and if faith were quite lost as often and as long as the soul cannot say with assurance, My sins are forgiven me" ("Questions," p. 111). He also condemns the Antinomian doctrine that denies the obligation of repentance and mourning for sin (*Ibid.*, p. 64).

<sup>285</sup>"Ezekiel," p. 5.

<sup>286</sup>*Ibid.*, p. 11. Unlike the natural man the child of God sees



While the necessary human response is not seen as antecedent to the validity of the covenant, it is seen as making it valid in actually conveying the blessings to us in that "no man can be actually in Covenant with God through Grace, without his own consent; for Christ ravisheth not his bride,"<sup>287</sup> though He does woo her.<sup>288</sup> Therefore, those outside of Christ must change their Covenant-state from nature to Grace, close with the entire "bargain," and enter into the mutual tie, obligation, and transaction involved in the Covenant of Grace.<sup>289,290</sup>

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the madness and folly of his own sin and is "ashamed of sin as an act of unkindness and unthankfulness to a sweet merciful Lord." And while the hypocrite experiences no sorrow for sin and the philosophers fear a just reproof, the child of God is afraid of the guiltiness of sin, in a filial relationship, and he fears that others may be caused to suffer because of his evil. His sorrow and shame is rooted in the love of God, not in the self-love of the hypocrite (*Ibid.*, pp. 15-17).

<sup>287</sup> *Ark*, A, p. 240.

<sup>288</sup> *Ark*, B, p. 160. Gillespie explains, "For though Christ hath payed the price of the elects ransom and hath purchased them liberty on the Cross, and hath also convinced a man of this ransom, and made him toward and tractable to listen, to accept of it; yet till a man come by faith, and manifest his acceptance, or rather actually accept of Christs proposals, he is not yet actually in a Covenant with God, but concluded under wrath . . . . *Redemption*, p. 264.

<sup>289</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 471; *Ark*, A, pp. 280, 312; *Ark*, B, p. 156.

<sup>290</sup> Gillespie further explains concerning this personal covenanting that (1) without such an experience one cannot ascertain his election or calling to the state of Grace, (2) without this experience there is no satisfaction or assurance before God (*Ibid.*, p. 180), (3) it is in this experience that God claims and owns the soul as His own in a special sense (*Ibid.*, pp. 156-157), (4) it is a most secret internal transaction witnessed only by the Mediator, God, and the soul itself, (5) this personal covenanting with God is part of the fulfilling of Christ's Covenant with God, since He procured the consent of all that were given Him unto the Gospel Covenant (*Ibid.*, pp. 158-159), (6) this personal covenanting is taught under various terms, such as "receiving Christ" (*John* 1:12), "coming unto Him," "being in Him," and the "bringing in of a soul" (*Ibid.*, p. 171), (7) it is the great duty for which the Gospel calls (*Ibid.*, p. 155), (8) those who come to Christ will most certainly be

Those in Christ have other obligations also. Gillespie speaks of the necessity of our "improving" the office of the Mediator and the promise of free grace.<sup>291</sup> And in addition to bringing and producing the Testament of the dying Mediator before the Court of Justice and pleading the inheritance and benefits by faith,<sup>292</sup> we must subject ourselves to Christ as our Head, Husband, Ruler, King, and Lawgiver.<sup>293</sup> Involved in this subjection is the giving of ourselves away to God "to be only, and wholly, and absolute without reservation, and for ever without reservation at his disposing."<sup>294</sup> We are exhorted to try our spiritual estates individually as to whether or not we are willing "to agree, consent and close with Christ in a Covenant, upon his own terms," that is, to renounce sin, take His yoke, and give ourselves to be ruled by Him.<sup>295</sup> The one who so gives himself up to belong to Christ, closes with Him in Covenant, and renounces all other lovers, gives sure evidence

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received (John 6:37) ("Questions," pp. 121-122), (9) though our consent is necessary, it is grace which works in us both to will and to do (Ark, A, p. 312), (10) the Covenant of Grace has its force and efficacy not from our personal covenanting with God, though "it hath a necessary connexion with that" (Ark, B, p. 159), and (11) God has appointed means of grace and salvation ("Dispute," II, V, 3) which are ordained for the rise of all those who are chosen to salvation (Ark, B, pp. 75-77).

<sup>291</sup>"Malachi," p. 18.

<sup>292</sup>Ark, A, p. 331.

<sup>293</sup>Ibid., p. 172.

<sup>294</sup>Ark, B, p. 158.

<sup>295</sup>Ark, A, p. 172.

that he is in Christ.<sup>296,297</sup>

Though the way of Christ is very difficult in one respect, because it is displeasing to the inclinations of our sinful nature, especially when we are called to mortification,<sup>298</sup> in another sense it is easy; he lists four respects in which Christ's yoke is easy: (1) it is sweet to some, but severe to others, (2) it is easy in comparison with the yoke of the Law, (3) it is easy to those who are well acquainted with it, and (4) it is a yoke to the flesh, but easy to the spirit and the new man.<sup>299</sup> Even in the midst of all duties and trials there is comfort in that Christ has undertaken to "perform in us the Duties, which duties long after were to ly upon us by Gospel Commands and Conditions, and by the preceptive of the Law."<sup>300</sup>

#### THE CHURCH

Gillespie strongly emphasizes the fact that Christ is the only Lord and Head of the Church--both the natural and mystical Head as well as the political Head, particularly

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<sup>296</sup>"Malachi," p. 8.

<sup>297</sup>Gillespie insists, "Christ and his benefits are indeed offered and held forth unto all that are in the church, and all called upon to come unto Christ, that they may have life in him, and whosoever cometh shall not be cast out; this is certain: but yet the word speaks no peace nor assurance save to the humble and contrite . . . ." ("Questions," p. 109).

<sup>298</sup>Gillespie insists, "So the soul cannot be married to Christ, except it only renounce the bosom sins, lusts, and idols, but be consent also to part with the most lawful creature-comforts for his sake. . . . The repudiation of creature-comforts, and a covenant with Christ, go hand in hand together, Isaiah 55:2-3." "Malachi," pp. 7-8,9,19.

<sup>299</sup>Ibid., p. 9.

<sup>300</sup>Ark, B, p. 58.

of "the visible political ministerial Church."<sup>301</sup> As the only Lord and Master of the Church, all ecclesiastical power is exercised rightly only in an immediate subordination to Him and in His name and authority; it is never tied simply to the will of men.<sup>302</sup>

The Church is truly glorious because it is united to Christ as branches to the vine. Thus every true believer and every true Church "hath direct and immediate title to Christ, and to the benefit of all his ordinances, for his edification and salvation."<sup>303</sup> The Church is united in Christ so that the visible Church manifests this unity in its communion,<sup>304</sup> and all true believers long for the Church to be fully one, as indicated by the prayer of Jesus (John 17:21).<sup>305,306</sup>

As the Lawgiver and Prophet of the Church Christ has appointed and ordained "the rule according to which he would have his worship and the government of his own house to be

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<sup>301</sup>"Assertion," p. 12; *Redemption*, p. 108; "Assembly," pp. 109-110; "Rod," pp. 136-137. See also "Examination," p. 13 for his stress on the mystical Church.

<sup>302</sup>"Rod," pp. XVI, 86; "Dispute," I, III, 2; "Propositions," 4, 5; "Examinations," p. 7.

<sup>303</sup>"Assertion," pp. 63-64.

<sup>304</sup>"Rod," p. 199.

<sup>305</sup>"Malachi," p. 12.

<sup>306</sup>Gillespie is careful to clarify his meaning when he writes, "I know the visible Church is not all one with the invisible and mystical body of Christ; but he who denieth the visible church to be the visible, political, ministerial body of Christ, must also deny the visible church to be the visible church; for if a church then certainly the body of Christ, at least visibly." "Rod," p. 104.

ordered."<sup>307</sup> By the Holy Spirit Christ invisibly teaches and governs His Church in gathering, preserving, teaching, building, and saving it, using ministers as His instruments,<sup>308</sup> who have authority and power from Christ as Mediator to manage their office in and under Him.<sup>309</sup> These ministers are His stewards who are to dispense His mysteries faithfully, and to them are given the keys to Christ's house.<sup>310</sup> They are priests who are to preach the Word and administer the sacraments in the name and place of Christ as Mediator, having His authority.<sup>311</sup> They are to feed the flock as its shepherds, to correct and rectify, and to be stewards in the house of Christ, but in no way to be lords over it; they are to serve rather than to be served, in no way usurping the place of

<sup>307</sup>"Propositions," 5. Gillespie condemns the Erastians for denying the existence of all Church government. "Questions," p. 64.

<sup>308</sup>"Propositions," 1.

<sup>309</sup>"Examination," p. 10. Concerning this ecclesiastical government Gillespie teaches that (1) its remote end is the glory of God who has power and authority in heaven and earth, but its nearest and most immediate end is the glory of Jesus Christ as Mediator and King of the Church ("Rod," p. 87), (2) its proper end is wholly spiritual, concerned with the soul and its welfare ("Propositions," 74), though it can never bind except where it is lawful and expedient ("Dispute," I, IV, 7), (3) it is distinct from the civil government ("Propositions," 78; "Rod," p. 121), and (4) the responsibility of these Church officers includes consuring false doctrine (Revelation 2:20), deciding controversies (Acts 16:4), examining and censuring scandals (Ezekiel 44:23-24), and judging elders and other Church members (I Timothy 5:19; I Corinthians 5:12) ("Assembly," p. 111.

<sup>310</sup>"Propositions," 60.

<sup>311</sup>"Rod," pp. 109-110. Their authority also includes such matters as ordination, resolution of controversies concerning the faith and worship of God, the government of the Church, and cases of conscience. Ibid., p. 121.

Christ who alone has power over the consciences of His people.<sup>312</sup>

Christ has also given the Church the right and responsibility of maintaining Church discipline. Gillespie distinguishes between two kinds of censure, the first of which is to be inflicted on baptized persons who are found unworthy of partaking of the signs of the grace of Christ. The second is the cutting off of a member, or excommunication,<sup>313</sup> whereby he is said to be delivered to Satan--who reigns outside the Church;<sup>314</sup> it is to be used only under extreme necessity when the soul of the sinner will not be healed.<sup>315</sup> In both cases the offender is to be instructed in the assembly "so that he have some taste of God's judgments, but chiefly of God's mercies through Jesus Christ, when he may be presented before the public kirk."<sup>316</sup> And even the severe measure of excommunication is administered that the brother may be filled with shame and be humbled before God to the point of repentance so that he may be snatched from the devil's snare. This measure further protects the impurity from infecting the rest of the Church,<sup>317</sup> and above all ensures that the King

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<sup>312</sup>"Propositions," 59-60. The Pope is greatly criticized for making his power boundless and exalting himself even over the Scriptures. "Assertion," p. 64.

<sup>313</sup>"Propositions," 11 and 13.

<sup>314</sup>"Rod," p. 111.

<sup>315</sup>"Propositions," 28.

<sup>316</sup>George Gillespie (and others), *Causes of the Lord's Wrath Against Scotland, Manifested in His Late Sad Dispensations. Whereunto is Added a Paper Particularly Holding Forth the Sins of the Ministry* (Agreed Upon by the General Assembly, 1651) (Edinburgh: Robert Ogle and Oliver and Boyd, 1844), p. 14 (Hereafter designated as "Causes").

<sup>317</sup>"Propositions," 71.

of kings and Lord of lords, Jesus Christ, the only monarch of the Church, has His own royal prerogative fully maintained and defended.<sup>318</sup>

### THE SACRAMENTS

Very much related to the Church are the sacraments which consist of both an earthly and visible part and a heavenly and invisible part, so that there is a sacramental union of the presence of Christ with the outward sign.<sup>319</sup> The sacraments of the Covenant of Grace signify Christ and are added for ends and uses relating to our faith<sup>320</sup> since we cannot enjoy God in the present world without ordinances.<sup>321</sup> Baptism serves to distinguish the Church from the rest of the world, being a token of perdition to those without and a token of salvation to believers.<sup>322</sup> Not only is the Eucharist a feast, but it is also a type and a representation of the everlasting feast and communion with Christ in glory.<sup>323</sup> In it thanks are given for the benefits of the Gospel, and the spiritual life, already bestowed, is preserved, cherished, and perfected.<sup>324</sup> Gillespie insists that in the sacraments

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<sup>318</sup>Ibid., p. 100.

<sup>319</sup>"Questions," III, IV, 16; "Questions," p. 94. Though the flesh of Christ is not present in the elements of the Eucharist, it is a great feast with mystical food offered by God to us." Ibid., p. 96.

<sup>320</sup>Ark, A, p. 230.

<sup>321</sup>"Questions," p. 2.

<sup>322</sup>Ibid., p. 90.

<sup>323</sup>Ibid., p. 94.

<sup>324</sup>"Propositions," 19.



there is an exhibition which

is not the giving of grace where it is not. . . , but an exhibition to believers--a real effectual lively application of Christ, and of all his benefits, to every one that believeth; for the staying, strengthening, confirming, and comforting of the soul.<sup>325,326</sup>

Gillespie argues that while the sacraments are sealing ordinances, they are not regenerating or converting ordinances; they are for the communion of saints, not for the conversion of sinners.<sup>327,328</sup> But for those already converted the Eucharist is a blessed, powerful means to establish their salvation.<sup>329</sup> And baptism denotes both

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<sup>325</sup>"Rod," p. 233.

<sup>326</sup>He strongly reacts against the notion of *opus operatum*, whereby the sacraments are seen as working or giving grace instrumentally (Ibid., p. 229). To the contrary, he states that there are many baptized persons who are excluded from the kingdom of Christ ("Questions," p. 90) and many hypocrites who partake of the Lord's Supper ("Propositions," 27). Furthermore, the Eucharist is not a sacrifice, but a feast ("Questions," p. 94), for in sacrifices man is the giver and God the receiver, but in the sacraments God is the giver and man is the receiver. And while "in sacrifices peace is made with God, in sacraments it is sealed and supposed to be made" ("Rod," p. 56).

<sup>327</sup>Ibid., pp. 159,229,233,236,239,240,242; "Propositions," 18.

<sup>328</sup>It is the Word which is understood by Gillespie as being "a converting ordinance, and is a mean appointed of God to turn sinners from darkness to light, and from the power of Satan to God." "Rod," p. 229. See also Ibid., pp. 155,159,243,248; *Ark*, B, p. 155; "Dispute," III, IV, 16. And though some are to be excluded from the sacrament, none are to be prevented from hearing the Word. "Propositions," 14,24, 27; "Rod," pp. 46-47,262. Gillespie reasons, "If a sinner be known for an unprofitable hearer of the word, that cannot make it a sin to me to preach any more to him; but if he be known to be a dog or swine in reference to the sacrament, that will make it a sin to me if I minister the sacrament to him. The reason is, because I am still bound to endeavour his conversion (not knowing that he hath blasphemed against the Holy Ghost), but I am not bound to give him the seal of remission of sins and salvation by Jesus Christ." Ibid., p. 159.

<sup>329</sup>"Questions," p. 236.

sealing and dedication to God and is always "efficacious to all the members of Christ, young and old, by virtue of the word of promise and covenant of grace sealed in that sacrament."<sup>330</sup> Thus while the sacraments are appointed of God and delivered to the Church as sealing ordinances, they do not give grace, but declare, seal, and confirm that grace which has already been given by God.<sup>331</sup> The Eucharist testifies or signifies, but does not convey, the spiritual life, faith, union with Christ, and remission of sins.<sup>332</sup>

In Gillespie's writings there is a strong stress on the necessity of guarding the sacraments from the unworthy.<sup>333,334</sup>

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<sup>330</sup> Ibid., p. 92; "Rod," p. 111.

<sup>331</sup> Ibid., p. 229.

<sup>332</sup> Gillespie argues, "The very state of grace or spiritual life, regeneration, faith, and remission of sins are signified, declared, testified, and sealed, but not wrought or given in the sacrament. The strengthening of faith, and a further degree of communion with Christ, is not signified in the sacrament, I mean, it is not signified that we have it, but that we shall have it, or at most, that we do then receive it. So that believers may truly be said to receive at the sacrament, a confirmation or strengthening of their faith, or a further degree of communion with Christ; but it cannot be said that the very sacramental act of eating or drinking, being a sign of spiritual life and union with Christ (as that which we have, not which we shall have, or at that instant receive), is a mean or instrumental cause to make a man have that which it testifieth, or signifieth he hath already." Ibid., pp. 236-237.

<sup>333</sup> George Gillespie, "Usefull Case of Conscience Discussed and Resolved Concerning Associations and Confederacies, with Idolaters, Infidels, Heteticks, or any Other Known Enemies of Truth and Godliness" (Printed by Heires of George Anderson for Andro Wilson, 1649), p. 26.

<sup>334</sup> To be barred from partaking of the Supper are scandalous persons ("Rod," p. 228), those who are wilfully ignorant ("Causes," pp. 15-16), the unworthy, the unconverted, unregenerate, and impenitent ("Rod," pp. 240-241). Also excluded are the impious and ungodly, who have no right to the Table by reason of a grievous scandal ("Propositions," 20), such as idolatry or fornication ("Rod," p. 64). In fact, any who do not show themselves to be saints visibly ought to be excluded (Ibid., p. 199), that is, any who by their lives "do thereby witness themselves to be without the inward and spiritual communion with Christ ("Propositions," 25).

He condemns the Erastians for denying this necessity,<sup>335</sup> and teaches that the unworthy are to be suspended from the Lord's Table until they manifest signs of repentance.<sup>336</sup> The nature of this ordinances is such that it cannot admit the notoriously scandalous, lest it be profaned and made common,<sup>337</sup> and therefore barren and fruitless to the Church.<sup>338</sup> Furthermore, evil doers must be prevented from partaking of the symbols of the Gospel lest the name of God be greatly disgraced.<sup>339,340</sup>

#### SUMMARY

In his works Gillespie manifests a careful and diligent scholarship, a keen theological ability in reasoning, systematizing, and synthesizing the various elements of Christian truth, and both depth and breadth of argument with his command of his contemporary Calvinists, other Protestant writers, Roman Catholic scholars, Lutheran and Reformed works, and men of the past such as Aristotle and the schoolmen. But several

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<sup>335</sup>"Questions," p. 64.

<sup>336</sup>"Rod," pp. 161-162.

<sup>337</sup>Ibid., p. 159.

<sup>338</sup>"Causes," p. 3.

<sup>339</sup>"Propositions," 27.

<sup>340</sup>Gillespie also insists in this regard that (1) all the promises of grace are to be sealed only to those to whom the promises belong or otherwise the seal would contradict reality (Ibid., 19-20), (2) the authority to keep back the unworthy from the Lord's Table is given to the minister by Christ ("Rod," pp. 140, 213, 229, 236), (3) it is a sin to dispense the ordinances of Christ to the unworthy (Ibid., p. 159; "Nihil," p. 7), and it brings condemnation ("Causes," p. 3; "Propositions," 27), (4) those excluded are to be kept back only until they bring forth fruits worthy of repentance (Ibid., 13; "Causes," p. 14), and (5) though men's hearts in this matter are not to be judged, the external signs of repentance are to be observed carefully ("Rod," pp. 259, 262).

questions emerge from a careful study of his writings.

In his masterful and comprehensive treatment of the covenants a suspicion arises that instead of making the Covenant subordinate to Christ, perhaps he has made the Person and Work of Christ subordinate to the Covenant. Although there are eloquent statements regarding the place of Christ in the Covenant, it appears that it is the concept of the Covenant which is of primary significance. And because there are two (really three) covenants presented, and the Covenant idea is defined in conditional terms, the entire concept is cast largely into a legalistic framework of conditional grace. While he tries to avoid a bilateral notion, there remains an unresolved tension between the place of Christ and the individual's own covenanting capacity. Furthermore, out of the separation of nature and grace with the forensic moulding the tendency is to see God as a God of terror and wrath instead of the self-giving God of love, the Father of the Lord Jesus Christ.

In this regard too it seems that the stress on God's decrees from all eternity detracts from the central place of Christ, God's Elect One, or the immediate agent and object of election. And instead of being seen as the eternal Mediator between God and man, Christ's mediatorial role is almost exclusively one of remedying the sin of man and its effects, and applies only to His rule within the Church, not to His rule--as God--over the entire world of mankind. Moreover, the work of reconciliation is only for those chosen of God because Gillespie seems to overlook the fact of the ontological

bond established through Christ's Incarnation with the entire race of mankind. And rather than emphasizing the representative life of Christ's life of obedience sonship the stress falls on His substitutionary death.

Issuing from this obscuring of the vicarious, representative humanity of Christ is an objectifying of salvation in such a way that the doctrine of union with Christ is put into the background. It appears that in Federal Calvinism it is by partaking of the benefits of Christ that we partake of Him, whereas in the Reformers it is by partaking of Christ that we partake of His benefits.

Gillespie also manifests a strong interest in the personal application or appropriation of salvation by man. With this emphasis it appears that one's eyes are directed more inward for assurance and comfort than turned to Christ who has accomplished all that God requires for sinful man's renewal. This inward looking is also seen in Gillespie's treatment of the Church and the sacraments. Because there is such stress on human response, Church discipline and censure are all important. And because the sacraments are defined largely in terms of human activity, Gillespie is concerned to guard them from the unworthy. When they are understood as being gifts of a gracious God signifying what Christ has done for us, the stress becomes one of wonder and awe, rather than one of who is worthy to partake.

## CHAPTER VI

### SAMUEL RUTHERFORD

In the history of seventeenth century Scottish theology no name stands out more forcefully than that of Samuel Rutherford (1600-1661),<sup>1</sup> who by the middle of the century was considered as one of the most eminent clerical and intellectual leaders of Scotland.<sup>2</sup> Even today he stands as one of the highest names in the history of the Scottish Kirk,<sup>3</sup> a man known for his masterful vindication of ecclesiastical principles,<sup>4</sup> and who is still regarded as the leading theological writer of his age.<sup>5</sup>

#### THE MAN, HIS BACKGROUND, AND CONTRIBUTIONS TO SCOTLAND

Rutherford,<sup>6</sup> entered the University of Edinburgh, studied under the Ramean dialectical method, and became

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<sup>1</sup>Strickland, p. 168.

<sup>2</sup>Ibid., p. 201.

<sup>3</sup>Walker, p. 12.

<sup>4</sup>Ibid., p. 10; Macleod, pp. 73-74.

<sup>5</sup>Walker, p. 7.

<sup>6</sup>Strickland's work, which contains both a biographical section on Rutherford and a comprehensive presentation of his doctrine of the Spirit, divides his life into 4 periods:

(1) Birth to banishment at Aberdeen (1600-1636)

(2) His year and a half at Aberdeen

(3) Signing of the National Covenant to his return from the Westminster Assembly (1638-1647)

(4) His later years (1648-1661) (p. 168).

familiar with the type of argument and debate which extended to the most minute aspect under discussion.<sup>7</sup>

Two years after his graduation in 1621, he was appointed Regent of Humanity at this same university, where he remained until he resigned to study theology, probably under Andrew Ramsay. Upon qualifying for the ministry, in 1627 he was settled in the village of Anwoth.<sup>8</sup> His ministerial career, however, was interrupted after the publication of his *Exercitationes Apologeticae Pro Divina Gratia* when he was expelled from his pulpit, ordered to retire to Aberdeen, and forbidden to preach anywhere in the realm. He remained at Aberdeen, where he composed his famous *Letters*, for a period of eighteen months until he took his place among the leadership of the Covenanters in 1638 when Charles I's political power was threatened.<sup>9</sup>

In that same year he was appointed by the General Assembly to the chair of Divinity at St. Mary's College, St. Andrews and as Robert Blair's colleague in the preaching ministry. In St. Andrews he laboured for the remainder of his life except for his time of service as a commissioner at the Westminster Assembly.<sup>10</sup> While the Assembly was in

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<sup>7</sup> Ibid., pp. 180-181.

<sup>8</sup> Ibid., pp. 181-184.

<sup>9</sup> Ibid., pp. 187-188, 193.

<sup>10</sup> Ibid., pp. 193-194; Macleod, pp. 69-70. Concerning the personal tragedies that befell Rutherford, see Strickland, pp. 184, 198.



session Rutherford wrote his famous *Lex Rex* which, upon the restoration of Charles II, was condemned, publicly burned, and its author convicted of treason.<sup>11</sup> While serving at St. Andrews he was petitioned to teach at the University of Edinburgh, but was not permitted by the General Assembly to accept this invitation, though he was instead named Principal of the New College, St. Andrews, and two years later, Rector of that same university, where he continued as a Professor of Divinity, pastor, and author.<sup>12</sup> In the last year of his life he was summoned to appear before the Committee of Estates to answer charges of treason concerning his *Lex Rex*. Although he was unable to attend, he was tried, deposed from the ministry and his offices in the university, and ordered to be confined to his house until he would be tried for treason. After replying that he had a higher summons to obey Rutherford died and thus avoided the execution suffered by colleagues such as Argyle and Guthrie.<sup>13</sup>

One important influence on Rutherford appears to have been that of Thomas Bradwardine (1349) as is seen in Rutherford's use of his conception of the "habit of grace" in describing the work of the Holy Spirit in the believer's life. It was in his teaching concerning man's total inability to

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<sup>11</sup>Ibid., p. 200; Macleod, p. 71.

<sup>12</sup>Strickland, p. 202. He also refused formal offers of chairs from the University of Hardewyrk (Ibid., p. 201) and the University of Utrecht (Ibid., p. 204).

<sup>13</sup>Ibid., pp. 208-209.

do anything without God's direct participation in his activities through the Holy Spirit that Bradwardine brought about a change in the definition of the terms "uncreated," "created," and "habitual" grace. He insists that grace is constituted in God, specifically in the Holy Spirit, as not only God's self-love, but of man's love to God. Uncreated grace refers to the will of God which contains two different aspects--generally the Trinity, and specifically the Holy Spirit. Created grace, resulting from uncreated grace, in its specific form is the Holy Spirit; thus to possess this created grace is to participate in the divine nature. Also connected directly with the Holy Spirit is habitual grace which, though not considered as being infused in the rationality of all men, is God present in the believer maintaining His direct relation to the will of God until he gains immortality.<sup>14</sup>

Strickland describes Rutherford as neither a metaphysician nor a doctrinal innovator, but as "an extremely well-read, articulate, penetrating systematic (narrow-minded if you will) dogmatic theologian committed to the defense of an 'ultra-pietistic' expression of Reformed biblical theology."<sup>15</sup> Macleod considers him to have been a man of fervent piety, burning zeal, and great love of the Lord who in his *Letters* exhibits "the workmanship of a

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<sup>14</sup>Ibid., pp. 19-22.

<sup>15</sup>Ibid., p. 157.

spiritual genius whose branches ran over the wall."<sup>16</sup>

In his writings one certainly perceives a marvellous keenness of mind and alertness in argument,<sup>17</sup> in this man who, "although not the best writer, was probably the most versatile genius and most subtle and adroit controversialist" in the list of Scottish theologians.<sup>18</sup> He is truly remarkable for his genius and power, his fresh, bold, and penetrating style, and great intellectual energy, as well as for having been the fiercest of Church leaders, the most devout of saints, who was "equally at home among the tomes of Aquinas and writing letters to poor congregations."<sup>19</sup>

Rutherford, the indefatigable worker,<sup>20</sup> whose chief subject was the debate between Calvinists and Arminians,<sup>21</sup> is also said to have been set on fire with love and to have made the love of God above all his theme even when he talked

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<sup>16</sup> Macleod, p. 68.

<sup>17</sup> Walker, p. 9.

<sup>18</sup> Macpherson, pp. 41-42.

<sup>19</sup> Walker, p. 12. He is described by Walker as the "greatest scholastic of our Presbyterian Church," and a worshipper of heroes such as the schoolmen (p. 9). But Strickland (p. 181) maintains that though Rutherford sometimes adopts the language of the Schoolmen, he is in fact unsympathetic to their approach. Rutherford states, "O how rawly do the Needle-head *Schoole-men* writ of Christ! O how subtle and Eagle-eyed seeme they to be in speculations!" Samuel Rutherford, *Christ Dying and Drawing Sinners to Himself: or A Survey of our Saviour in his Soule-suffering, his Loveliness in his Death, and the Efficacie Thereof. In Which Some Cases of Soule-trouble in Weake Beleevers, Grounds of Submission Under the Absence of Christ, With the Flowings and Heighnings of Free Grace, are Opened* (London: Printed by J. D. for Andrew Crooke, 1647), p. A 2 (Hereafter designated as *Christ Dying*). This book contains errors in pagination.

<sup>20</sup> Macleod, p. 70.

<sup>21</sup> Walker, p. 9.

of righteousness and the wrath of God.<sup>22</sup> And while his intellectual, theological, and religious prodigy did not prevent him from being led into extremes,<sup>23</sup> especially since he stood in the tradition of the federal theology and hyper-Calvinism of his time, "yet his original mind and his wide scholarship gave him a uniqueness which in some degree served to modify some of the more rigid aspects of the federal theology as set forth by David Dickson."<sup>24</sup>

He was a prolific writer who displayed an amazing amount and variety of reading,<sup>25</sup> and whose vivid speech proves itself to be a dialect by itself.<sup>26</sup> Perhaps it is his *Letters* for which he is most well known and in which his heart is best expressed.<sup>27</sup> But one work particularly stands out, his *Lex Rex: A Treatise of Civil Policy Concerning Prerogative* (London, 1644) which has been said to be the first clear development of the constitutionalism which all men now accept.<sup>28</sup> It gave Rutherford the reputation of being one of the greatest English-speaking political theorists of his generation. He reasoned that

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<sup>22</sup>Ibid., pp. 168-169.

<sup>23</sup>Ibid., p. 12.

<sup>24</sup>Corbett, p. 60.

<sup>25</sup>Macpherson, p. 46.

<sup>26</sup>Macleod, p. 78. Walker (p. 12) claims that he appears to have written *currente calamo* with little attention being given to style and arrangement.

<sup>27</sup>Macleod, p. 75; Strickland, p. 121.

<sup>28</sup>Macpherson, p. 43; Walker, pp. 10-11.

monarchs rule under God only with the consent of the people;<sup>29</sup> the king has no irresponsible lordship since he is put in trust, by the people's own choice, of the power that God gives him in providence. Therefore absolute power is irrational and tyrannical and is beyond the power of the people to grant, since they have to answer to the King of kings.<sup>30</sup>

#### THEOLOGY PROPER

One doctrine which seems to have possessed Rutherford is the absolute sovereignty of God.<sup>31</sup> In all His actions, decrees, and designs God is seen as absolutely free--as in His grace which is imparted to man.<sup>32</sup> Unless this freedom of God is preserved the whole concept of Redemption would be overthrown for Rutherford.<sup>33</sup> He asserts that though holiness is essential to God, He punishes sin merely by virtue of His will, not through any holy necessity in the divine nature.<sup>34</sup> Walker explains

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<sup>29</sup> Strickland, pp. 199-200.

<sup>30</sup> Macleod, pp. 71-73.

<sup>31</sup> Ibid., p. 70; Walker, p. 36.

<sup>32</sup> Corbett, p. 61; Rutherford, *Christ Dying*, p. A 2.

<sup>33</sup> Walker, p. 36. Walker (p. 40) argues that it is an illusion to think that because God acts according to the holiness and justice of His nature by necessity, He gives up His freedom. "It is quite clear," he argues "there was some mistake or misconception. It was, in fact, the remains of the overdrawn distinction of the schoolmen between the *voluntas signi* and the *voluntas beneplaciti*." Corbett (p. 73) maintains that "Rutherford's stress upon the freedom of God serves as a corrective to federalism, but he is unable to escape from its legal framework."

<sup>34</sup> Walker, pp. 35-36; Corbett, p. 61.

concerning Rutherford's view of the atonement:

Not, then, from any necessity of His nature, but simply and only to *manifest* the glory of His justice in His eternal free purpose, God resolves, since the thing is right in itself, that, in bestowing salvation, He will bestow it in the justice-magnifying way of an eternal death.<sup>35</sup>

Therefore the necessity of the atonement lies only in the free decree, or the will of God, never in anything in His nature.<sup>36</sup> Rutherford goes so far as to contend that salvation could have been accomplished by a free act of God, apart from any satisfaction, for punishment and the necessity of satisfaction proceed only from the will and decree of God.<sup>37</sup>

This salvation which has been decreed by God is made possible only by the activity of the Trinity as the Father in love sent the Son and the Son was sustained in the power of the Holy Spirit.<sup>38</sup> In this transaction of the three members of the Trinity all the divine attributes have been "let out to men."<sup>39</sup> And because "the Father, the Sonne, the Man Christ, gave the excellentest that was theirs for us,"<sup>40</sup> Rutherford glories in the cross.<sup>41,42</sup>

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<sup>35</sup> Walker, pp. 37-38.

<sup>36</sup> Ibid., p. 36; Corbett, p. 61.

<sup>37</sup> Corbett, pp. 61-62; Rutherford, *Christ Dying*, pp. 7-8.

<sup>38</sup> Strickland, p. 31.

<sup>39</sup> Samuel Rutherford, *The Covenant of Life Opened: Or, A Treatise of the Covenant of Grace* (Edinburgh: Printed by Andro Anderson, for Robert Broun, 1655), p. 304 (Hereafter designated as *Covenant*).

<sup>40</sup> Rutherford, *Christ Dying*, p. 17.

<sup>41</sup> Walker, p. 37.

<sup>42</sup> Concerning this activity in the Trinity, Strickland asserts,

In Christ is displayed God's relative justice *ad extra*,<sup>43</sup> for He, the decreed and appointed Mediator, consented in an eternal covenant to assume the burden of sin and die for mankind.<sup>44</sup> Not only did Christ choose to die in man's place, but the Father also gave Him a specific commandment to be obedient unto the death of the cross;<sup>45</sup> thus God made Him the Mediator and laid our sins on Him.<sup>46</sup> This giving of His only Son greatly manifests the Father's love, for no creature has ever been loved of God with that same love bestowed upon Christ.<sup>47</sup> Rutherford also maintains that love and grace find their only necessity in the loving nature of God; hence neither the Incarnation nor death of Christ is the cause of God's love, but its effects.<sup>48</sup> Furthermore, it appears that in Rutherford's framework the exaggerated, scholastic dichotomy between nature and grace is at least partially overcome as is evidenced in both his

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"This emphasis is necessary in overcoming a substantial mediatory concept of grace simply because if Christ is ever considered an entity in Himself, separated from the Father and the Spirit (the *raison d'être* of the Trinity), His significance as mediator is immediately compromised if not sacrificed. Something else must fill that 'mediator' role. This need is then supplied by created grace, the Church, the ministry of the sacraments or the Holy Spirit acting in these" (pp. 157-158).

<sup>43</sup>Rutherford, *Covenant*, p. 33.

<sup>44</sup>*Ibid.*, p. 304.

<sup>45</sup>Rutherford, *Christ Dying*, p. 139.

<sup>46</sup>Rutherford, *Covenant*, p. 248. Rutherford argues that both statements are true--God sent Christ, and He came of His own accord. *Ibid.*, p. 292.

<sup>47</sup>Rutherford, *Christ Dying*, pp. 74-75. Though Christ was the object of God's love from eternity, there is a special love of the Father extended to Him for His obedience to the commandment given Him to die for sinners. *Ibid.*, p. 140.

<sup>48</sup>Rutherford, *Covenant*, p. 231; Strickland, p. 54.



uniting grace to Christology and glory and in his emphasis on the absolute dependence of all creation upon God's sustaining influences. Since God by His Spirit sustains all creation and causes everything which is good in man, nature is understood as the theatre or dominion of grace, not its antagonist.<sup>49</sup>

#### MAN AND SIN

The absolute sovereignty of God is also seen in the fall of Adam,<sup>50</sup> though Rutherford is unclear as to how evil arose.<sup>51</sup> And while he maintains that sin can be understood as an entity only at the expense of the idea of Deity,<sup>52</sup> he still holds that sin grieves the heart of God,<sup>53</sup> all sin is virtually atheism,<sup>54</sup> unbelief is the worst of sins because it opposes the Spirit and "the Mediator-love of Christ,"<sup>55</sup> and that "the lake of fire and brimstone, as a just punishment of a despised Gospel, smells like Roses to God."<sup>56</sup>

But sin appears to play an integral part in God's workings, not as the cause of grace, but as the occasion

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<sup>49</sup>Strickland, pp. 57-58.

<sup>50</sup>Rutherford, *Covenant*, p. 36.

<sup>51</sup>Walker, p. 37.

<sup>52</sup>Ibid., pp. 85-86.

<sup>53</sup>Rutherford, *Christ Dying*, p. 33.

<sup>54</sup>Ibid., p. 153.

<sup>55</sup>Ibid., p. 143.

<sup>56</sup>Ibid., p. 188.

or opportunity for grace to be manifested.<sup>57</sup> In addition to the inability to hinder the movement of God's eternal election,<sup>58</sup> sin is "God's mean to an end that He could not otherwise accomplish."<sup>59</sup> Rutherford insists that God

might have kept all the sons of men, and all the Angels, in a sinlesse condition, to be courteous to proclaim the glory of Law goodness, and of the never broken Covenant of Works, but then there should never have been such a thing *known to generations to come, as that Ark of glory*, that huge and boundless *all fulnesse* of the indwelling Godhead in the Man Christ. Sure had there been none sick, such a suffering Physician to heal us had never been, none lost would have said there is no Saviour, none dead in sin, would say, there is no need of such a Lord and Prince of life, *by whose swelling wounds we are healed, Isaiah 53.*"<sup>60</sup>

He adds that it is by the fall that Christ has a new office--to redeem us--and the Holy Spirit also has a new task, "which he should not have had, if man had not sinned, to apply the blood of sprinkling as a sort of Mediatory intercession, to dippe us in the fountain of his blood."<sup>61</sup>

In his unfallen state man was indebted to God, far more than he could ever repay, for giving him faculties of the mind, will, and affections, as well as the blessed Image of God within.<sup>62</sup> Yet if Adam had continued in obedience he would have merited eternal life *ex pacto*.<sup>63</sup> In this unfallen state Adam had a faith of dependence whereby

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<sup>57</sup> Strickland, p. 54.

<sup>58</sup> Rutherford, *Christ Dying*, p. 72.

<sup>59</sup> Walker, p. 76.

<sup>60</sup> Rutherford, *Covenant*, p. 288.

<sup>61</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 143. Thus Rutherford appears to be at the doorstep of the *felix culpa* notion along with the other Federal Calvinists.

<sup>62</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 24.

<sup>63</sup> Rutherford, *Covenant*, p. 196.

he relied on God, but not any supernatural power to believe evangelical truths.<sup>64</sup> Rutherford also explains, "I know *Adam* was not obliged before he sinned to pray to *Jesus Christ Mediator*, as *Steven*, Acts. 7. prayed to him."<sup>65</sup>

From the "state of Law life" Adam fell both totally and finally,<sup>66</sup> and since he was the representative of all mankind<sup>67</sup>--a public Law-head,<sup>68</sup> in whom all were morally and legally present<sup>69</sup>--all were killed and buried unto two deaths, concluded under wrath, in his evil act.<sup>70</sup> Therefore the entire race sinned in Adam, and his sin is ours by imputation.<sup>71</sup> Because of man's fall, grace is no longer in him essentially, but only as "a borrowed accident of the creature,"<sup>72</sup> and nature can only render man inexcusable before God; it can never bring one to salvation.<sup>73</sup>

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<sup>64</sup>Ibid., p. 205.

<sup>65</sup>Ibid., p. 345.

<sup>66</sup>Ibid., pp. 2-3.

<sup>67</sup>Ibid., p. 14.

<sup>68</sup>Ibid., p. 50.

<sup>69</sup>Ibid., p. 235.

<sup>70</sup>Rutherford, *Christ Dying*, p. 16.

<sup>71</sup>Rutherford, *Covenant*, p. 260. This legal dispensation in which Adam was created is described by Rutherford as "a gracious inlet to Christ." Ibid., p. 14.

<sup>72</sup>Rutherford, *Christ Dying*, p. 38.

<sup>73</sup>Ibid., p. 368. Rutherford explains, "As none can be saved by the light of nature, nor ever any used, or could use it so far forth, as to improve it for their sufficient preparation, to receive the tidings of the Gosepl, either from *Men* or *Angels* sent to preach to them. . . ."

THE PERSON OF CHRIST

Along with the other Federalists Rutherford emphasizes strongly and repeatedly the divinity of Christ. He teaches that Christ is true God, the one whom angels worship;<sup>74</sup> He is "God equal with the Father and the same God."<sup>75</sup> Christ is also described as "the noble and substantiall representation of God, the very selfe of God, God sending and God sent, *the fellow of God*, his compai<sup>n</sup>on, and God, and not another God, but a Sonne, another subsistence and person." Though He was begotten, He never began to be a Son or to have God as His Father,<sup>76</sup> for He is the unique Son of God by an eternal generation, the only heir of His Father's house.<sup>77</sup> Rutherford argues that for Christ's righteousness to be meritorious and satisfactory for us He had to be more than man,<sup>78</sup> for His Godhead is expressly proven by the fact that He died for our sins and rose again from the dead.<sup>79</sup>

Though Christ was eternally God He voluntarily emptied Himself, laying aside Heaven, to assume our nature and be under the Law.<sup>80</sup> Of His own free love He became the

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<sup>74</sup>Rutherford, *Covenant*, p. 55.

<sup>75</sup>Rutherford, *Christ Dying*, p. 293.

<sup>76</sup>*Ibid.*, p. bl.

<sup>77</sup>*Ibid.*, p. 150.

<sup>78</sup>Rutherford, *Covenant*, p. 226.

<sup>79</sup>*Ibid.*, p. 316.

<sup>80</sup>*Ibid.*, pp. 310-311; Rutherford, *Christ Dying*, pp. 17-18.

Mediator, God-man,<sup>81</sup> and was made by free covenant that which He was not by nature.<sup>82,83</sup> Under the Covenant of Works "Christ-man" constantly remained right in His heart and inclinations toward the Law of God.<sup>84</sup> But in regard to His assumption of man's flesh, Rutherford contends:

But the truth is, *Christ* assumed that nature that is common to all men, but not as common to all men, but as the seed of Abraham, Hebrews 2:16. as the flesh and bloud of the children, verse 14. of his brethren, not according to the flesh, but according to the Spirit, that are, or were to be borne againe.<sup>85</sup>

In his statements concerning Christ's humanity Rutherford is careful to safeguard the purity and sinlessness of Christ's flesh. He teaches that "in the whole Man *Christ* was a perfect masse, and, as it were, a compleat body of all gracious qualifications,"<sup>86</sup> that His soul was of a more noble creation than was the first Adam,<sup>87</sup>

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<sup>81</sup>Rutherford, *Covenant*, p. 197.

<sup>82</sup>*Ibid.*, p. 321.

<sup>83</sup>Rutherford holds that the relationship of Christ and the Spirit is first manifested in the Incarnation of the Son of God, for this mighty act was made possible only by the conception of the Holy Spirit (Strickland, p. 32). Furthermore, the man Christ's entire life and ministry was sustained by the activity of the Spirit (*Ibid.*, p. 157).

<sup>84</sup>Rutherford, *Covenant*, pp. 355-357.

<sup>85</sup>Rutherford, *Christ Dying*, p. 431. The inference is that there is no ontological bond established by Christ's Incarnation with the entire race of mankind, as the presupposition for His atoning work.

<sup>86</sup>Rutherford, *Covenant*, p. 357.

<sup>87</sup>Rutherford, *Christ Dying*, p. 5. Rutherford explains that "there was more of God in the humane nature of *Christ*, as nature is a vessel coming out of the Potters house, then ever was in *Adam*, or living man; though man had never sinned: And so, that hee hath a humane soule of a more noble structure and fabrick, in which the

and that "the Mediator *Christ* is a Saviour so moulded, and contrived, that its impossible to adde to his beauty, excellency, loveliness; *Man* or *Angels*, could not wish a choiser Redeemer, then Christ."<sup>88</sup> In Him was no sin by inheritance,<sup>89</sup> no sinful weakness,<sup>90</sup> and no spot or blemish<sup>91</sup> in His soul or any of His natural faculties.<sup>92</sup> It is categorically stated:

Christ-man came out of the wombe cloathed with a precious white Robe of innocency and abundance of grace, hee never contracted one black spot of that faire Robe of the highest image of God,<sup>93</sup> from the wombe to the grave; and so there was no shame . . . .

Though Christ received justification or acquittal for us He Himself never required a pardon or the forgiveness of sin.<sup>94</sup>

From His holy nature, which could never want faith or sustain doubting or sinful disturbance of the mind, and could never be moved from the tenderest devotion to the Father,<sup>95</sup> Christ rendered perfect obedience with all His

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*Holy Ghost*, in the act of sanctification, had a higher hand, then when *Adam* was created, according to the image of God; though hee was a man like us in all things, sinne excepted."

<sup>88</sup>Ibid., pp. 237-238.

<sup>89</sup>Rutherford, *Covenant*, p. 235.

<sup>90</sup>Ibid., p. 295.

<sup>91</sup>Rutherford, *Christ Dying*, p. 139.

<sup>92</sup>Ibid., p. 21.

<sup>93</sup>Ibid., p. 554.

<sup>94</sup>Ibid., pp. 6-7.

<sup>95</sup>Ibid., p. 6.

heart to the Father's will.<sup>96</sup> Though He was really tempted of the devil, he was never induced to sin,<sup>97</sup> for He was sustained by the personal fulness of the Godhead which made any transgression of the Father's Law an impossibility.<sup>98,99</sup>

In his Christology Rutherford teaches clearly that by virtue of His Incarnation Christ possessed two natures in only one person--"that excellent and living ark, the most glorious and admirable thing that heaven hath."<sup>100</sup> Though he holds rigidly to the Chalcedonian formula he confesses that the fact of Christ's two natures is a mystery which is beyond his comprehension. But there is great rejoicing in Christ because in Him one can see one who is both the God of grace and the man who was the first

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<sup>96</sup>Rutherford, *Covenant*, p. 311.

<sup>97</sup>Rutherford, *Christ Dying*, pp. 206-207.

<sup>98</sup>*Ibid.*, p. 10; Rutherford, *Covenant*, p. 356.

<sup>99</sup>Concerning Christ's humanity and sin Rutherford maintains that (1) though there was no formal guilt in Him (*reatus culpa*), He was punished as if He had been the sinner (*reatus penae*) (Rutherford, *Covenant*, p. 235), (2) God gave Christ a body (Hebrews 7:5) and made Him sin (*Ibid.*, p. 321), (3) though Christ could not experience shame for any sin of his own, He bore the shame of our sin (Rutherford, *Christ Dying*, p. 555), and (4) "*Jesus Christs Soule-trouble, as it was rationall, and extreemely penall; so also it was sinless, and innocent. . . .*" (*Ibid.*, p. 22).

<sup>100</sup>Rutherford, *Christ Dying*, pp. 466-467. He explains that "neither any man, nor the man Christ can in any capacity be elevated so above it selfe, as to partake of the infinite life of God; how the manhood of Christ partaketh of the personall subsistence of the Godhead, is incomprehensible to me, except that it is not by such a union as my singular nature standeth under personally created, and is by assumption rather than union, how ever if there be an union of the person of the Holy Ghost to our souls, it cannot be conceived, nor doth the Scripture speak of it; if the Saints live the life of God, it must be by created Graces, and this is that we conceive."



object of grace, the Lord who is of the same substance as the Spirit, and the man who was baptized in the Spirit.<sup>101</sup> And because Christ has been glorified in our nature it is proven that uncreated glory can dwell in creaturely humanity without changing it into the essence of God.<sup>102,103</sup>

#### THE OFFICES OF CHRIST

Christ has been given a threefold office--Prophet, Priest, and King--for the fulfilling of the Father's redemptive purposes.<sup>104</sup> Rutherford insists both that these offices were fulfilled in suffering<sup>105</sup> and that each was for others; he explains:

All Christs offices are for others then himselfe: *Hee is not a Mediator of one*: A Redeemer is for captives, a Saviour for sinners, a Priest for offenders and trespasses, a Prophet for the simple and ignorant, a King to vindicate from servitude, all that are in bondage; the Physician for the sick . . . .<sup>106</sup>

He further maintains that Christ willingly consented to

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<sup>101</sup>Strickland, p. 31.

<sup>102</sup>Ibid., p. 83; Rutherford, *Christ Dying*, p. 238.

<sup>103</sup>In elaborating on the necessity of the two natures it is stated, "And therefore though *Christ-Man* was most strictly tied to give the *Father* obedience, yet he was not obliged to give him such and such obedience, so noble, so excellent, from a personall Union: for *Christ God* cannot properly come under any obligation" (Rutherford, *Covenant*, p. 197). And "To *Christ-God* promises of reward cannot be made, nor can *Christ-God* suffer, but they are made to the Person *God-Man*, for the incouraging of the *Man-Christ*, and he incourages himself therewith, Isaiah 50. 7,8. *Christ-Man* lived the life of faith by depending upon *God* for the joy set before him . . . ." (Ibid., p. 349).

<sup>104</sup>Ibid., p. 302.

<sup>105</sup>Ibid., p. 274.

<sup>106</sup>Rutherford, *Christ Dying*, p. 189.

God's call to assume these offices<sup>107</sup> and both carried out once for all these offices through the influences of the Spirit and continues in their exercise through the power of the Spirit.<sup>108</sup> But these offices are intended only for those in the body of Christ, not for all mankind universally.<sup>109</sup>

God the Father has ordained Christ to the honourable calling of the High Priesthood,<sup>110</sup> and this calling, which is far superior to that of Aaron, has been confirmed by an oath.<sup>111</sup> But Christ would have wrought an imperfect priesthood had He not died offering Himself as a sacrifice before God.<sup>112</sup> However, after His sacrifice it can be said that

the *Father* hath sworn, and will not repent, that he is an eternall Priest, and stands to it, that his blood is of eternall worth; and when the *Father* sweareth this, *Christ* is the same one *God* with him, and swears, that he thinketh all his blood well bestowed, and will never give over the bargain, his *Bride* is his *Bride*, though dear bought, and his intercession in heaven speaketh his hearty *Amen*, and fullest consent of love to our Redemption.<sup>113</sup>

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<sup>107</sup>Rutherford, *Covenant*, p. 316.

<sup>108</sup>Strickland, p. 34.

<sup>109</sup>Rutherford asserts, "These for whom *Christ* is a Priest to offer his body, for them he is a *King* to make them Kings and to save them, and a *Prophet* to teach them; but he is not *King* and *Prophet* to any but to his own people, kingdome, conquest, disciples, seed, children, subjects." As a Priest Christ offered His body and intercedes only for His own (*Christ Dying*, p. 418), for "the Advocation of our High Priest in the holy of holiest at the right hand of God, is for the people of God only . . . ." (*Ibid.*, p. 436).

<sup>110</sup>Rutherford, *Covenant*, p. 316.

<sup>111</sup>*Ibid.*, pp. 300-301.

<sup>112</sup>Rutherford, *Christ Dying*, p. 546.

<sup>113</sup>*Ibid.*, p. 137.

Though He shed His blood once, He is now the Intercessor and Advocate, Jesus the Righteous, who applies that same blood and pleads that (1) His own may stand as accepted and freed from condemnation and (2) the Spirit procured by His death may be given to us, that we may repent and believe.<sup>114</sup> He is in heaven with the heart of a man to feel our sighing and weeping<sup>115</sup> and to purify and present our corrupt prayers before the Father, making request for us, so that our prayers become His.<sup>116</sup>

By divine appointment Christ is also "the High King of all the made and crowned kings in the Land,"<sup>117</sup> "the first and most eminent and glorious King,"<sup>118</sup> who is incapable of failing against the fundamental laws of righteousness,<sup>119</sup> and who as the perfect King and Conqueror has pursued the enemies and triumphed over them on the cross.<sup>120</sup> To Him is promised a headship over all men and angels that before Him every knee shall bow and before Him all will be judged. And it is He who makes all things new, the new King and Restorer of all things who causes the whole creation to sing when He comes to the

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<sup>114</sup>Rutherford, *Covenant*, p. 366.

<sup>115</sup>Rutherford, *Christ Dying*, p. 339.

<sup>116</sup>*Ibid.*, pp. 171-172.

<sup>117</sup>Rutherford, *Christ Dying*, p. 288.

<sup>118</sup>*Ibid.*, p. 453.

<sup>119</sup>*Ibid.*, p. 86.

<sup>120</sup>*Ibid.*, p. 546.

throne.<sup>121</sup>

In these offices Christ is the unique Mediator who makes peace between God and man by the blood of an eternal Covenant, and

a dayes-man wholly for God; God in nature, mind, will, power, holynesse, and infinite perfection, a dayes-man for himselfe, a dayes-man wholly for us, on our side, by birth, bloud, good-will, *for us, with us, and us, in nature.*<sup>122</sup>

He is the Servant, Shepherd, and Messenger of the Lord as God-man both by His free consent and by special anointing of the Father.<sup>123</sup> In heaven, states Rutherford, "we have no acquaintance by way of mediation" but Him, the Choice Friend who has gone before as an eternal Mediator.<sup>124</sup>

#### THE WORK OF CHRIST

His work of mediation involved the assumption of our nature and the voluntary and willing submission of His will before God, and never resisting the Father in any thought or desire of His heart.<sup>125</sup> In His state of humiliation He performed this work of active obedience<sup>126</sup> in which He voluntarily obeyed the Law perfectly,<sup>127</sup>

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<sup>121</sup>Rutherford, *Covenant*, pp. 354-355.

<sup>122</sup>Rutherford, *Christ Dying*, p. b.

<sup>123</sup>Rutherford, *Covenant*, pp. 292-293.

<sup>124</sup>Rutherford, *Christ Dying*, p. 173.

<sup>125</sup>*Ibid.*, pp. 145, 149, 161.

<sup>126</sup>Rutherford, *Covenant*, , p. 227.

<sup>127</sup>*Ibid.*, p. 196.

satisfying completely the Covenant of Works in all points, and fulfilling all the demands and requirements of the Law. Rutherford adds that this obedience was fulfilled in Christ's acts and sufferings as the most excellent God-man,<sup>128</sup> but, nevertheless, it is "impossible that the active obedience of Christ can make us actively and inherently righteous, or restore to us our lost innocence."<sup>129</sup>

Rutherford teaches that Christ's ministry was both representative and substitutionary, though it is largely the latter aspect with which he is concerned. Christ acts representatively in that all He did and endured was as a public person,<sup>130</sup> and in that "*Christ* and Beleevers are in one writ, and one letter of acquittance dischargeth both from condemnation, *Christ* from condemnation of punishment, us from condemnation of inherent guiltiness and punishment."<sup>131</sup> Therefore, we can say "As I sinned in the first *Adam* legally so I satisfied in the second *Adam*."<sup>132</sup> As our substitute Christ acted as the Cautioner, putting Himself in our room as an hostage, pledge, and surety to die for us and pay the debt of the first and second death,

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<sup>128</sup> Ibid., pp. 225-226.

<sup>129</sup> Ibid., p. 236.

<sup>130</sup> Ibid., p. 314.

<sup>131</sup> Ibid., p. 351.

<sup>132</sup> Ibid., p. 285. Corbett argues that the representative character of Christ's work is diminished by Rutherford's division between the Covenant of Redemption (Christ alone with the Father) and the Covenant of Grace (Christ the Head with His people) which limits Christ's representation to the elect and casts the concept of the Covenant into a highly substitutionary framework (p. 71).

acting in our place before the Law.<sup>133</sup> Although He suffered not according to every accident and circumstance that we were to bear, He endured "all that we were to suffer according to the due equivalence, worth, and substance of the suffering."<sup>134</sup>

It becomes obvious that Rutherford's view of the atonement is highly forensic<sup>135</sup> with great stress being laid upon the legal aspects and results of Christ's obedience.<sup>136</sup> Along with this emphasis is a strong teaching on the necessity of Christ's death. It is stated that Christ is Mediator only as He died upon the cross for the expiation and satisfaction of sins.<sup>137</sup> He was separated to be killed,<sup>138</sup> for if He had not died He would not have been a perfect Redeemer,<sup>139</sup> and we should have had

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<sup>133</sup> Rutherford, *Covenant*, pp. 248-251. Rutherford adds that "Christ in some other more legall way died for us then for Angels, for he died for their good, that he might be made the Head of Angels . . . and he died for the good of the whole Creation that he might make all things new, and restore the creatures to their perfection, which by the sin of man they had lost . . . but he died not as suffering punishment due to the Angels, and the work of Creation in their stead . . . ."

<sup>134</sup> Rutherford, *Christ Dying*, p. 125.

<sup>135</sup> T. F. Torrance, "Baptism," p. 30.

<sup>136</sup> He teaches that (1) Christ represented His own in a legal, not mystical, way (Corbett, p. 71; Rutherford, *Christ Dying*, pp. 543, 561), (2) Christ by the merit of His blood makes sinners legally one with God (Ibid., p. 336), (3) legally we satisfied and suffered punishment in Christ (Rutherford, *Covenant*, p. 257), (4) in the eyes of the Law we paid what He sacrificed (Ibid., pp. 248-249), (5) the right to eternal life is a legal one issuing from the blood of Christ (Ibid., p. 177), and (6) Christ's death serves to remove only the legal obligation to wrath due to sin (Ibid., p. 323).

<sup>137</sup> Rutherford, *Covenant*, p. 365.

<sup>138</sup> Rutherford, *Christ Dying*, p. 559.

<sup>139</sup> Ibid., p. 546.

no rights to the benefits of His Testament.<sup>140,141</sup> Christ was afflicted for our sins only because He willingly was reckoned the sinner before the Law<sup>142</sup> as a man,<sup>143</sup> suffering the death of the cross which made Him to be under the Law.<sup>144</sup> Rutherford adds that He "came from under that act and hand of cautionrie and Suretiship without sin, that is, acquit from sin, which *he was made, and was laid upon him.* . . ." <sup>145</sup>

It was His love which prompted Christ to undergo such afflictions for our sake, and the fruit of that love--the same which was bestowed on Him by the Father from all eternity--is laid over His redeemed ones.<sup>146</sup> And it was

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<sup>140</sup> Rutherford, *Covenant*, p. 318.

<sup>141</sup> Rutherford argues that it was because of the dignity of His Person as God-man that His sufferings were perfectly satisfactory in a short time, covering what we should have endured eternally. *Ibid.*, pp. 250-251; Rutherford, *Christ Dying*, p. 126.

<sup>142</sup> Rutherford, *Covenant*, p. 207.

<sup>143</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 226.

<sup>144</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 227.

<sup>145</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 321. Rutherford insists that while Christ satisfied the Law, He did not contradict it." Rutherford, *Christ Dying*, p. 66.

<sup>146</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 236. Also concerning the love of Christ it is asserted that (1) love pressed Christ to serve God and man freely (*Ibid.*, p. 14), (2) all which Christ endured was for nothing (*Ibid.*, p. 137), (3) the love of Christ is always fresh (*Ibid.*, p. 490), (4) His love is stronger than hell (*Ibid.*, p. 165), (5) Christ poured out His very own self for us (*Ibid.*, b), (6) the fact that Christ was not "love-prooffe," but was "love-sicke" for His Church is seen in His pouring out His life for His friends (*Ibid.*, p. 136), (7) there is enough love in Christ's breast to save all in hell, or out of hell (*Ibid.*, p. 233), (8) "Had there been thousand worlds more of sinners, Christ hath love for them all. And had the elect world had ten thousand millions more of rebellious then they have, all these sins should have been infinitely below the conquering power



His love which caused Him to endure such immense suffering which included the suspension of the vision of God for a time,<sup>147</sup> deep agony, sadness, torment, and tears,<sup>148</sup> the greatest hatred by the world toward any creature,<sup>149</sup> the pain of death, the experience of fear, and the imputation of thousands of sins.<sup>150</sup> Indeed His sufferings were so extreme that only He could bear them;<sup>151</sup> hence He earned heaven at the greatest possible cost--His own life and blood.<sup>152</sup>

Though the Father loved Christ dearly--there was nothing more precious in His sight than His own Son--He set Him apart to be forsaken, to suffer the death and punishment caused by sin, to "runne a hazard for man," and to be pursued by the Father.<sup>153</sup> He was separated to be an atonement and an expiation for sin, to make a real and full compensation to offended justice, and to undergo

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of Christs love" (Ibid., p. 285), and (9) because of His free love which has redeemed us for nothing, we are confronted with "that eternal banquet of the honey-combe of the Love-debt of the Lamb" (Ibid., pp. 9, 128).

<sup>147</sup>Ibid., p. 126. This loss was of something which was Christ's unique privilege--one shared by neither men nor angels.

<sup>148</sup>Ibid., pp. 42,119.

<sup>149</sup>Ibid., p. 230.

<sup>150</sup>Ibid., p. 131.

<sup>151</sup>Ibid., pp. 127-128.

<sup>152</sup>Ibid., p. 132.

<sup>153</sup>Ibid., pp. 11,17,64,133,559. It is explained that "God could not hate the Son of his love, in a free dispensation, he persued in wrath the surety, and loved the Sonne of God." Ibid., p. 133.

the wrath of God.<sup>154</sup> While free of sin Himself He satisfied divine justice for our sins by His "soule-trouble and death."<sup>155</sup> His death upon the cross, whereby He endured the curse, involved "in equivalency an eternall vengeance, and that wrath which all the Elect were for ever to suffer in hell."<sup>156</sup>

Thus Christ has paid both actively and passively all that the Law requires as well as the active part of justifying faith for us,<sup>157</sup> for only He can plead contrary to the demands of the Law for blood and the torments of the second death.<sup>158</sup> By His death He has ransomed captives and merited righteousness, life, and pardon for His friends,<sup>159</sup> having been emptied and poured out of glory for our sakes.<sup>160</sup> But Christ did more than merely pay our

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<sup>154</sup>Ibid., p. 559; Rutherford, *Covenant*, p. 285.

<sup>155</sup>Rutherford, *Christ Dying*, p. 43. Rutherford explains, "It cannot bee determined what that wall of separation, that covering and vaile was, that went between the two united natures, the union personall still remaining intire, how the *God-head* suspended its divine and soule-rejoycing influence, and the man *Christ* suffered to the bottome of the highest and deepest paine, to the full satisfaction of divine justice" ((bid., p. 133).

<sup>156</sup>Ibid., p. 559. See also Ibid., pp. 64,126,134,492-493.

<sup>157</sup>Rutherford, *Covenant*, p. 318.

<sup>158</sup>Ibid., pp. 258-259. Rutherford also maintains that "Sinne is a deare and costly thing: In heaven, in the Count-book of Justice, it goeth for no lesse then the bloud of *God*, the shaming of the *Lord* of glory. . . ." Rutherford, *Christ Dying*, p. 135.

<sup>159</sup>Rutherford, *Covenant*, p. 318.

<sup>160</sup>Rutherford, *Christ Dying*, p. 136.

debts,<sup>161</sup> in that He has brought in "the out-law sonnes" to Paradise<sup>162</sup> and conquered death, and the justice of the Divine Law

could demand no more of him for all engagements, and to answer the bill, but death and such a death it was a sort of over-plus and abundance of ransome to God, that death was put to the worse, and could in justice never arrest any believer or Saint after Christ.<sup>163,164</sup>

Christ's ministry is truly glorious especially since He has restored to offended Justice, by His incomparably excellent death, more glory than that taken by Adam and all his posterity from God. And His obedience is far superior to that of the elect angels, who are strenthened through Him as the Mediator and their Head.<sup>165</sup> Furthermore, in His death there is more of life than in all the world,<sup>166</sup> for He has purchased to us an infinite weight of glory.<sup>167,168</sup> But while Rutherford teaches that by

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<sup>161</sup>Ibid., p. 21.

<sup>162</sup>Ibid., p. 336.

<sup>163</sup>Ibid., p. 543.

<sup>164</sup>Rutherford also teaches that (1) Christ died to ratify and confirm the Covenant, which is as the Testament of a dying friend (Rutherford, *Covenant*, pp. 318-319), (2) He became Surety for us in both His body and soul (Rutherford, *Christ Dying*, p. 11), and (3) mortification flows originally from His death since we are crucified with Him (Rutherford, *Covenant*, p. 261).

<sup>165</sup>Ibid., pp. 197-198.

<sup>166</sup>Rutherford, *Christ Dying*, p. 528.

<sup>167</sup>Ibid., pp. 126-127.

<sup>168</sup>It is added that "Christ dyed pulling his brethren out of hell and sinne; he dyed, and his Spouse in his armes, and this showeth how desirous Christ is to have an union with us . . ." (Ibid., p. 497). As the Mediator Christ also united heaven and earth (Ibid., p. 336), and "from Christs dying we learn to die to sinne, and live to him that dyed for us . . . ." (Ibid., p. 547).

Christ's death He gives repentance and mourning for sin,<sup>169</sup> He repents for us only in the sense that by His grace He worketh repentance in us and that change which involves the whole man. Rutherford argues:

But I feare the sense of this, that *Christ repenteth for us, and obeyeth for us, he being the end of the Law* to every one that beleeveth; be farre otherwise, to wit, that *Christs* obedience of the Law, he being the end of the Law, as also his passive obedience is ours. If this be the intended sense, then all our Sanctification is nothing, but the Sanctification and holy active obedience of *Christ*. I yield this to be a broad, a faire and easie way to heaven. *Christ* doth all for us, *Christ* weeped for my sinnes, and that is all the repentance required in me, if I beleieve that *Christ* was mortified, and dead to the world for me, that is my mortification; and if I believe, that the Change of the whole man was truely in *Christ*, this is my true holinesse; then my walking in holinesse cannot bee rewarded with life eternall, nor have any influence as a way, or meanes leading to the kingdom . . . . *Christs* active obedience imputed to the sinner, can be no evidence of justification, because it is in *Christ*, not in me; any evidence, or marke of *Justification* must bee inherent in the believer, not in *Christ*.<sup>170</sup>

The work accomplished by Christ also serves to deliver us from bondage. He assumed our curse and paid all our debts and Law-penalties,<sup>171</sup> delivering us from the dominion of sin by placing us under a new Husband.<sup>172</sup> He endured judgment, wrath, and death, battering down the forts of hell that we might be delivered--thus there remains to us only the outer side of death, for He has feared death for our comfort.<sup>173</sup> Rutherford explains to His readers, "Christ changed your bleeding

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<sup>169</sup> Rutherford, *Covenant*, p. 223.

<sup>170</sup> Rutherford, *Christ Dying*, pp. 78-79.

<sup>171</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 560-561.

<sup>172</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 200.

<sup>173</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 136-137.

even to the second death, and made it blessings for evermore to new and everlasting life."<sup>174,175</sup>

In the death of Christ we are sanctified--though it is wrought out by degrees--for in His transaction with God He has purchased the healing and sanctifying of our nature.<sup>176,177</sup> Connected with this sanctification is the activity of the Spirit--that same Spirit by whom the man Christ was anointed without measure<sup>178</sup> and was sustained throughout both His life and ministry<sup>179</sup>--which was purchased by the merit and death of Christ<sup>180</sup> and is now given by Christ to abide with us.<sup>181</sup>

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<sup>174</sup> Ibid., p. 561.

<sup>175</sup> Concerning Christ's victory over His enemies by virtue of His death Rutherford declares that (1) in Christ's offer of a sufficient ransom for sin, there is a seal put on the condemnation of all impenitent men ("*Christs* dying was the unbelievers Doomed-day") (2) in His death Christ condemned the world both declaratorily and exemplarily (Ibid., p. 197), (3) Christ has given out a new sentence against Satan, (4) all punishment on Satan is now inflicted by Christ the Mediator (Ibid., p. 217), and (5) by His death Christ has obtained a mediatory power to crush all His rebellious enemies as a Potter's clay vessel with a rod of iron (Ibid., p. 394).

<sup>176</sup> Rutherford, *Covenant*, pp. 323-324.

<sup>177</sup> Rutherford criticizes the Roman Catholic Church of his day for (1) denying the real satisfaction made by Christ by mixing it with human merit (Ibid., p. 207), and (2) substituting for justification by faith and the free grace of God, a supposed moral or civil sanctification (Rutherford, *Christ Dying*, p. 509).

<sup>178</sup> Rutherford, *Covenant*, p. 333.

<sup>179</sup> Strickland, p. 33.

<sup>180</sup> Rutherford, *Covenant*, pp. 262, 333,

<sup>181</sup> Rutherford, *Christ Dying*, p. 339. Rutherford also asserts, "When we grieve the Spirit purchased by Christ, we draw blood of his wounds afresh, and so testifie, that wee repent that Christ suffered so much for us." Ibid., p. 137.

But as great as are the benefits of Christ's finished work, Rutherford argues consistently that they have no universal intention. Christ is understood to be the representative, or public person, only of the Elect, who are represented in all which He performed.<sup>182</sup> His death was the actual death of the elect, and left their atonement as a finished work.<sup>183</sup> It is stated that Christ died only for His sheep, for "there is not a Text in Scripture, in *Old or New Testament*, in which, we may not limit the persons, on whom grace universall, and redemption in Christs blood, are pretended to be bestowed, to the elect and believers onely . . . ."<sup>184</sup> It is insisted that all are not loved with an everlasting love and included in Christ's death.<sup>185</sup> Rutherford maintains:

It was no blind bargaine that Christ made; hee knew what he gave, hee knew what he got. *Christ* told downe a definite and certaine Ransome, as a total summe of money, every penny reckoned and layed, and he knew who was his own, and whom, and how many, by the head and name, he bought; there is no hazard that one come in, in the lieu and roome of another.<sup>186</sup>

He also argues that God has no intention or desire to work salvation in all men and gave not His Son for all mankind.<sup>187</sup> Rutherford feels that it would be unjust for

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<sup>182</sup>Rutherford, *Covenant*, p. 313; Corbett, p. 69.

<sup>183</sup>Corbett, p. 69; Rutherford, *Christ Dying*, p. 378.

<sup>184</sup>*Ibid.*, p. 374.

<sup>185</sup>*Ibid.*, p. 450. See also *Ibid.*, pp. 21-22, 382, 560-561; Rutherford, *Covenant*, p. 252.

<sup>186</sup>Rutherford, *Christ Dying*, pp. 372-373.

<sup>187</sup>*Ibid.*, pp. 378, 382; Rutherford, *Covenant*, pp. 183, 185, 186, 244.

God to punish sins eternally for which Christ has already atoned; therefore, he concludes that Christ has not died for the sins of all men.<sup>188,189</sup> And he argues that it cannot be said that Christ has died to make all mankind savable upon condition of faith.<sup>190</sup> It would be against the wisdom of God "to intend the actuall Redemption and salvation of all, and every one, and not to will, nor work such conditions, which only he himself can work . . . ."<sup>191</sup> Therefore, the death of Christ accomplished the actual redemption of the Elect, not merely its possibility.<sup>192,193</sup>

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<sup>188</sup> Ibid., pp. 189-190; Rutherford, *Christ Dying*, p. 428. Thus limited atonement is concluded from the fact of election and reprobation (Corbett, p. 68). Rutherford very clearly equates universal atonement with universalism. See Rutherford, *Christ Dying*, p. 400.

<sup>189</sup> Rutherford further argues in favour of his view of a limited atonement that (1) his doctrine highly advances Christ as Mediator and High Priest and the unique Saviour, (2) "to preach Christ a dying Redeemer of all and every one of mankind, when millions redeemed doe eternally perish, is to stealaway Christ from the people" (Rutherford, *Christ Dying*, pp. 399-400), (3) the analogy between the first and second Adams is not to be stretched further than Paul had in mind (Ibid., p. 433), (4) it is presumption for all men to believe that Christ died for them and they are loved by the Father (Ibid., p. 451), (5) all are not bought with a price and delivered from evil (Ibid., p. 413) and (6) none can be redeemed but those who are chosen and saved (Ibid., p. 375).

<sup>190</sup> Rutherford, *Covenant*, pp. 183,239; *Christ Dying*, p. 413.

<sup>191</sup> Ibid., p. 416.

<sup>192</sup> Ibid., pp. 396-399; Corbett, p. 68. Rutherford further argues that (1) the promises of God are not conditional because "both the condition, and the thing that falls under the condition, depend on his owne absolute will, and free gift," (2) "beleeving is a condition, and life eternall is *conditio-natum*, a thing that falleth under promise, but both depend upon the absolute, free and irresistibile will of the Lord . . . . (Rutherford, *Christ Dying*, p. 415), and (3) if Christ died for those who might eternally perish, He does not obtain His reward, and He is "a Gospel-King, without a Kingdome of Grace. . . ." (Ibid., pp. 397-398; Corbett, p. 68).

<sup>193</sup> Concerning the death of Christ and the preaching of the



In discussing whether or not Christ's mediatorial role will extend into the eternal state Rutherford insists that while there will be no further need of Christ's reconciling and intercessory work in behalf of sinners, there will be an eternal "mediation of the triumphing reign for the standing of the glorified nature."<sup>194</sup> Throughout all eternity Christ glorified in our nature will be "the substantiall mid-man between God and us," no longer to apply His death or interceding for sinners, but to appear "for us as a paund of a perfect satisfaction once given, and as a pledge and hostage of peace . . . ." And He will remain as Head of His body, who will always be clothed in His righteousness, and as the Lamb once slain in a mediatory sacrifice for the sins of the world, in that same unity as God-man since this union can never be dissolved.<sup>195</sup>

#### THE COVENANT CONCEPT

Very essential to an adequate understanding of Rutherford's concept of the Mediator is his understanding of the Covenant.<sup>196</sup> In accordance with the federal scheme

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Gospel it is asserted that (1) the death of Christ is not of its very nature preachable to all nations in every age (Rutherford, *Covenant*, p. 245), (2) because the visible multitudes are mixed, the Gospel is preached by concomitancy to those for whom Christ did not undertake in His bargain (Ibid., pp. 339-340), and (3) "we are not warranted to pray for all, and every one that they may be saved, but only for the Elect " (Rutherford, *Christ Dying*, p. 382.

<sup>194</sup> Rutherford, *Covenant*, p. 214.

<sup>195</sup> Ibid., pp. 365-368. Rutherford adds that the longer we enjoy the glory of heaven the greater our debt to the Lamb will increase. Rutherford, *Christ Dying*, p. 128.

<sup>196</sup> He is in fact often called "the saint of the covenant." Macpherson, p. 8.

he distinguishes between the Covenant of Works and the Covenant of Grace, which are mutually exclusive,<sup>197</sup> though the latter is considered as more than a covenant.<sup>198</sup> But he actually teaches that there are three covenants because of his subdivision of the Covenant of Grace into the Covenant of Suretyship, between the three members of the Godhead, and the Covenant of Reconciliation, between God, Christ, and the believer.<sup>199</sup>

The Covenant of Works involved nature and man's own working and earning by himself apart from outside assistance;<sup>200</sup> it required faith and promised Law-life.<sup>201</sup> In Adam as the public stirresman of this Covenant there was committed the standing and falling of all mankind as well as the standing of heaven, with all creatures in their perfection--which were spoiled by Adam's transgression.<sup>202</sup>

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<sup>197</sup> Rutherford, *Covenant*, p. 124.

<sup>198</sup> T. F. Torrance, "Baptism," p. 30.

<sup>199</sup> Corbett, p. 62; Rutherford, *Covenant*, pp. 309-310. Rutherford explains that (1) "the Covenant of Suretyship is the cause of the stability and firmness of the Covenant of Grace," (2) "though the Covenants of Suretyship and of Reconciliation differ, yet must they not be separated: but faith principally must be fixed upon the most binding Covenant-relation between JEHOVAH and the Son of God," (3) while the Covenant of Suretyship is eternal, the Covenant of Reconciliation is not eternal; it was "decreed from everlasting, yet it had no being as a Covenant, nor could have any, so long as the Covenant of Works did stand" (*Ibid.*), and (4) while both the Covenant of Works and the Covenant of Reconciliation contain both threatenings and promises, "the Covenant of Suretyship hath promises most large that are made to Christ; but no threatenings. . . . *Ibid.*, p. 356).

<sup>200</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 216, 195-196.

<sup>201</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 192.

<sup>202</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 225.

Rutherford asserts that there is a gracious aspect to this covenant and Christ has a place in it.<sup>203</sup> He explains:

But the Law as a Covenant of Works doth command no Ceremony, no Sacrifice, no Type of Christ Mediator at all. Its true, that first Covenant had *Moses* for its Mediator, but as he was a Type of Christ, so Christ yesterday and to day was the reall Mediator, but vailed.<sup>204</sup>

Once this covenant is broken, by nature it ceases to be a way of life--it allows no repentance; hence it can only curse sinners.<sup>205,206</sup>

Because of the inadequacy of this first covenant Christ has been appointed the Mediator of a better covenant.<sup>207</sup> In this new Covenant He has undertaken for us to lay down His life for sinners,<sup>208</sup> sealed the Covenant with His own blood,<sup>209</sup> and acts as "a days-man who layes his hands upon both parties at variance, both upon *God* and man, to

<sup>203</sup>Ibid., p. 3; Corbett, pp. 65-66.

<sup>204</sup>Rutherford, *Covenant*, p. 63.

<sup>205</sup>Ibid., p. 189; Rutherford, *Christ Dying*, pp. 273,472.

<sup>206</sup>In regard to the relationship of the Christian to the Covenant of Works Rutherford maintains that (1) the Law has now ceased as a possible way of justifying man to all flesh, except the Man Christ, and the Covenant of Grace remains as the only way of salvation (Rutherford, *Covenant*, p. 215), (2) for the elect the Covenant of Works is done away with in the Covenant of Grace (Corbett, p. 64), (3) but there is a godly fear of the Law "which breedeth Gospel perswasion," and (4) "a Godly heart trembles more for fear of grace and the debt of grace, then of justice and wrath; and fears sin more, as it is against the bands of grace, and against Christ and Gospel-love who can save, then as it is against Law, the Lawgiver, and him who eternally destroyes" (Rutherford, *Covenant*, p. 218).

<sup>207</sup>Ibid., pp. 225,282,348.

<sup>208</sup>Ibid., p. 295.

<sup>209</sup>Rutherford, *Christ Dying*, pp. 397,477.

bring them together. . . ." <sup>210</sup> Christ is the Author, the Surety, and the Mediator of this Covenant, which allows repentance, <sup>211</sup> as He is God. <sup>212</sup> And He is

chosen and predestinate the head, the first born of the house and of the many brethren, and saies Amen to the choise, and we are chosen by him, as our head, and he was fore-ordained the Mediator, and *the Lamb before the foundation of the world*, was laid, to be slain for our sins. <sup>213</sup>

Thus the whole Gospel, contained in this new covenant, is a bargain or paction of grace, and both conditions--the ransom required for satisfaction and the faith to lay hold upon the covenant--are given by the grace of God. <sup>214</sup>

This Covenant of Grace began with an eternally closed agreement between Jehovah and the Son, with the consent of both parties, that the Second Person would undertake the work of man's redemption. <sup>215,216</sup> It is a bargain of blood between the Father and the Son that Christ would assume humanity, "put on the state and legal condition of a Covenant-Obeyer of God to the death, the

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<sup>210</sup> Rutherford, *Covenant*, p. 348.

<sup>211</sup> Rutherford, *Christ Dying*, p. 472.

<sup>212</sup> Rutherford, *Covenant*, p. 283.

<sup>213</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 213.

<sup>214</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 216-217, 356.

<sup>215</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 293, 303, 309; Rutherford, *Christ Dying*, pp. 190-191.

<sup>216</sup> Rutherford explains that "The Covenant of Redemption is two wayes considered. 1. As transacted in time between *Jehovah* and *Christ*, in his actual discharge of his office of King, Priest and Prophet. 2. As it is an eternall transaction and compact between *Jehovah* and the second Person the *Son of God*, who gave personall consent that he should be the Undertaker, and no other." Rutherford, *Covenant*, p. 302. Compare *Ibid.*, p. 333.

death of the crosse," lay down His life for sinners, and have his reward--which is the forgiveness of His people and their being made heirs with Him of His Covenant and Kingdom.<sup>217</sup> And the Father out of His infinite faithfulness most certainly keeps all that He has promised to His Son.<sup>218</sup> Although this Covenant must be written on our hearts by the Spirit, it is completed before the accomplishment of the Mediator or any response is produced within us.<sup>219</sup> Therefore it does not depend on any condition or faith from our side<sup>220</sup> and is not voided by our daily failures and doubtings.<sup>221</sup>

There are wonderful provisions promised in this new covenant including the Spirit who works omnipotently to prepare the humble and a new heart with the free imputation of Christ's righteousness.<sup>222</sup> Both life and

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<sup>217</sup> Ibid., pp. 305,333; Rutherford, *Christ Dying*, p. 397. In connection with the relation of Christ to this Covenant Rutherford asserts, "No doubt, *Christ God-Man* is in Covenant with God, being a person designed from eternity with his own consent, and in time yeelding thereunto, and yet he stands not in that Covenant-relation that we stand in . . . ." Rutherford, *Covenant*, p. 290. This passage seems to indicate that the radical solidarity of Christ with His people is overlooked by Rutherford.

<sup>218</sup> Rutherford, *Christ Dying*, p. 150.

<sup>219</sup> Ibid., p. 477.

<sup>220</sup> Ibid., p. 471; Rutherford, *Covenant*, pp. 328,346.

<sup>221</sup> Ibid., p. 346; Rutherford, *Christ Dying*, p. 472. Though the child of God should not sin, when he does fall there is an Advocate and the blood of the eternal covenant.

<sup>222</sup> Rutherford, *Christ Dying*, p. 273. Rutherford, however, argues that Christ does not remove all sense of sin--"how CHRIST came not to extirpate conscience, nor the power of feeling and discerning the obligation to wrath, that the conscience apprehendeth after sin is committed, nor the legall evill discerning of sin, nor the contrariety betweene it and the Law." Rutherford, *Covenant*, p. 223.

forgiveness are promised to us upon condition of believing in Christ.<sup>223</sup> But included in this Covenant is the acting of Christ for us<sup>224</sup> and the undertaking of Jehovah that we shall both believe, being born anew and gifted to Christ,<sup>225</sup> and be preserved through Christ our Head and High Priest.<sup>226</sup> In addition to promising grace to believe and "a Gospel-life," there is also a command from the Mediator as the Lord Redeemer for Law-obedience.<sup>227</sup> Yet Rutherford is careful to explain that both this Covenant and all its promises are not intended for all mankind, but only for the mystical body of Christ, in whom the covenant is internally and effectually fulfilled according to the decree and purpose of God.<sup>228,229</sup>

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<sup>223</sup>Rutherford, *Covenant*, pp. 310-311. It is explained that "the faith of Christ is the faith of dependency, but not as a condition of the Covenant of suretyship, but in another account."

<sup>224</sup>*Ibid.*, p. 326.

<sup>225</sup>*Ibid.*, p. 333.

<sup>226</sup>*Ibid.*, p. 215.

<sup>227</sup>*Ibid.*, pp. 192-193. By grace to believe Rutherford appears to mean the act of the Holy Spirit whereby the individual is made to grasp Christ and His benefits. Although he does not explain what he means by "Gospel-life" it is implied that it is the life promised by God in Christ to all who are contained within the Covenant of Grace.

<sup>228</sup>*Ibid.*, pp. 119,123,131,340.

<sup>229</sup>Concerning the relationship between the Old Testament and the New Testament Rutherford insists that (1) Christ was the Mediator of the saints under both economies (*Ibid.*, p. 80), (2) in substance, theological essence, and formal effects circumcision and baptism are the same, (3) "we grant that Christ revealed in Types, Sacrifices, to come, darkly offered, may differ from Christ as clearly offered, Preached without these already abolished shadows and who is now come" (*Ibid.*, p. 96), and (4) the Old Testament saints were also saved by the Surety and righteousness of Christ, and justified apart from works (Rutherford, *Christ Dying*, p. 29).



PREDESTINATION

Along with his fellow Federal Calvinists Rutherford exhibits a strongly predestinarian teaching.<sup>230</sup> He maintains that the Gospel begins with eternal election,<sup>231</sup> for

Election, as the cause and fountaine-grace is the great mother, the wombe, the infinite spring, the bottomlesse ocean of all grace; and wee say, effects are more copiously and eminently in the cause then in themselves . . . and conversion, and justification have more freedome, and more of grace, by way of extension, because good will stayeth within the bowels and heart of *God*, in free election, but in conversion, and justification, infinite love comes out, and here the *Lord* giveth us the great gift, even himselfe, *Christ*, *God*, the darling, the delight, the onely, onely well-beloved of the Father, and he giveth Faith to lay hold on *Christ*, and the life of *God*, and all the meanes of life, in which there be many divided acts of grace (to speak so) where were all one in the wombe of the election of grace.<sup>232</sup>

Rutherford's strong emphasis on the freedom of God seems to have provided a rather interesting modification of the doctrine of election in federal theology as everything is grounded on the prior, free decision of God--which precedes everything on man's side, including his sin.<sup>233</sup>

In his framework it appears also that even his interest in the historical sequence of the two covenants is unable to overcome his predestinarian dualism whereby he sees two attitudes to two different orders of men--as manifested in the Covenant of Works and the Covenant of Grace.<sup>234</sup> And although it is stated that "there is no

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<sup>230</sup>T. F. Torrance, "Baptism," p. 30.

<sup>231</sup>Rutherford, *Christ Dying*, p. 250.

<sup>232</sup>Ibid., p. 265.

<sup>233</sup>Corbett, pp. 62-63; Rutherford, *Christ Dying*, p. 265.

<sup>234</sup>Corbett, pp. 64-65.



conflict between mercy and justice (as *Arminius* saith) nor any naturall desire in God to have all Angels and men saved, which is hindered by justice,"<sup>235</sup> he maintains that there is no grace common to all men, including reconciliation, justification, and the Covenant of Grace.<sup>236</sup> The good will of God, in order to save the elect, separates between persons.<sup>237</sup> Therefore the promises of God are made only with the Elect,<sup>238</sup> and the gifts of life are communicated only to those who are the spiritual heirs of Christ.<sup>239</sup>

Election is defined as "the decree of free grace, setting apart certaine definite, individuall, and particular men to glory;"<sup>240</sup> these are given by the Father to the Son to be ransomed and kept until the last day.<sup>241</sup> By the prior will or decision of God--the "love of election"<sup>242</sup> they are chosen, "by head designed,"<sup>243</sup> and ordained to be in Christ by faith and kept by His strong arms.<sup>244</sup> Ruther-

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<sup>235</sup>Rutherford, *Covenant*, p. 304.

<sup>236</sup>Rutherford, *Christ Dying*, pp. 431-432.

<sup>237</sup>*Ibid.*, p. 432.

<sup>238</sup>*Ibid.*, p. 415.

<sup>239</sup>*Ibid.*, p. 433.

<sup>240</sup>*Ibid.*, p. 371.

<sup>241</sup>Rutherford, *Covenant*, p. 293.

<sup>242</sup>Rutherford, *Christ Dying*, p. 477; Corbett, p. 63.

<sup>243</sup>Rutherford, *Christ Dying*, p. 371.

<sup>244</sup>Rutherford, *Covenant*, p. 306. Rutherford also maintains that those whom God has loved, He has redeemed (Rutherford, *Christ Dying*, p. 412) and that "there is a power denied to the naturall man to close with Christ . . . .(Ibid., p. 231).

ford is adamant, however, in his teaching that God's love has no universal range and does not extend to the entire race of mankind.<sup>245</sup> Much of Rutherford's difficulty in this teaching on election is encountered because he separates God's love of election from Christ and expounds the doctrine unchristologically.<sup>246,247</sup>

#### SOTERIOLOGY

Yet he clearly teaches that Christ is the image and face of God who reveals God; therefore to enjoy Christ is to enjoy God. It is stated, "No Man no Angel, could see any thing of *God*, if *God* had not had a consubstantiall Sonne begotten of himselfe by an eternall generation . . . ." Therefore Christ, as the drawing loveliness of God and the loadstone of heaven, manifests God completely, especially in his beauty, graciousness, and compassion.<sup>248</sup>

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<sup>245</sup> He teaches that (1) it is a mistake for the damned to believe that they are loved with the same everlasting good will as are the people of God (Ibid., p. 250), (2) the Antinomian teaching is a lie which holds that all are to believe that God has loved them with an everlasting love, without the necessary preparations of the heart (Ibid.), (3) "the Scripture no where speaketh of that conditional love, which the *Lord* beareth to Heathens, Reprobates, and to all *Men* and *Angels*" (Ibid., p. 412), (4) the world of John 3:16 refers to God's chosen world, not the whole world of both the elect and the reprobate (Ibid., p. 421), and (5) God does not will that every man be saved and come to believe (Ibid., p. 429).

<sup>246</sup> Corbett, pp. 63-65. Rutherford asserts clearly, "To the love of election, there is no love, no work, no act of believing required on our part; Yea, no mediator, nor shedding of blood . . . ." (Rutherford, *Christ Dying*, p. 477).

<sup>247</sup> Concerning preaching it is declared that God wills not that the Gospel be preached to the whole world (Ibid., p. 421) and that "Saving Faith required of all within the visible Church, is not as *Antinomians* conceive, the apprehension of God's everlasting love of Election to glory of all and every one that are charged to believe" (Ibid., p. 449).

<sup>248</sup> Ibid., pp. 337-338, 452-453.

Rutherford demonstrates "a strong emphasis upon union and communion with Christ, and an overwhelming sense of the majesty and mercy of God the Father, whose grace is poured out lavishly upon His Church through Jesus Christ."<sup>249</sup> In fact, his one dominant theme is that "Christ, in His life, is the pattern, and by His Spirit is the source and guide of all our activities toward God."<sup>250</sup> All our experience of grace is through Christ, the Mediator and channel of grace.<sup>251</sup> And because grace is inseparable from the Person and activity of God there is no room for a concept of grace which is anything other than a completed salvation both through and in Christ, and there is no consideration of another mediator or of merit, especially since Christ is Himself the substantial embodiment of grace.<sup>252</sup>

He is the fountain and original cause of all the promises,<sup>253</sup> as well as their subject and confirmer.<sup>254</sup>  
It is

He to whom the promises are made, as to the seed, so as in him *they are yea, and Amen*, and he who is eminently the chief heir of the promises, as engaged to make good the promises of the Lords part, to give forgiveness . . . perseverance . . . peace . . . yea, and a *new heart* . . . *life eternal* . . . and to make good the promises upon our part, by fulfilling the

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<sup>249</sup>T. F. Torrance, "Baptism," p. 30.

<sup>250</sup>Strickland, p. 36.

<sup>251</sup>Ibid., p. 56.

<sup>252</sup>Ibid., pp. 55, 158-159.

<sup>253</sup>Rutherford, *Covenant*, p. 314.

<sup>254</sup>Ibid., p. 282.

condition, and giving habitual grace . . . .<sup>255</sup>

These promises are made to Christ incarnate in our nature exclusively,<sup>256</sup> though they "are made, in a speciall manner to Christ, as to the head of the redeemed, to be dispensed by Christ, to those onely whom the Father gave him before time."<sup>257</sup> Therefore, though love, grace, and mercy are in the three persons of the Godhead, the mediatory manifestation of these glorious attributes is only through the Son who is "the treasurie, store-house, and magazene of the free goodnesse and mercy of the Godhead."<sup>258</sup> All God's love and mercy begins at the man Christ Jesus, the first subject of all the promises, who acts as the "publike *Lord-keeper*" of all the writs and charters of heaven, keeping them with His strong hand and managing them as they most tend to the good of his own.<sup>259</sup>

Since Christ is the first heir of the promise and the chief principal thing promised, "the Lords method is, Get first Christ then all the promises are yours: for they follow him."<sup>260</sup> Grace then is in the believer by virtue of his union with Christ in the Spirit;<sup>261</sup> only

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<sup>255</sup> Ibid., p. 296.

<sup>256</sup> Ibid., p. 313.

<sup>257</sup> Rutherford, *Christ Dying*, p. 241.

<sup>258</sup> Ibid., p. 337.

<sup>259</sup> Ibid., p. 241; Rutherford, *Covenant*, pp. 296, 314, 316, 325-326, 353.

<sup>260</sup> Ibid., p. 314.

<sup>261</sup> Strickland, p. 59.

when one is in Him can he claim the promise of the new heart,<sup>262</sup> and be made legally worthy before God.<sup>263</sup>

Especially in his devotional writings Rutherford rises to a more Christ-centred understanding of the believer's active participation in Christ, which rises above a mere vicarious imputation of His life and death, than is found in his more theological works.<sup>264</sup> He teaches that faith presupposes (1) a natural union of the same flesh, but only with the elect, (2) a legal union whereby the believer is joined with Christ under the Law, and (3) a federal union "when God makes Christ our surety, and He willingly agrees to become our surety and to make our cause and to suffer the penalty due to our sin;" faith also makes a fourth union which is difficult to describe but is

betwixt Christ and us, whether naturall, as between head and members, the branches and the Vine Tree, or mysticall, as that of the spouse and the beloved wife, or artificall. . . or legall, between the Surety and the Debtor, the Advocate and the Client, or rather a union above all, is hard to determine, for these are but all comparisons, and this Christ prays for, "I in them and thou in Me, that they may be made perfect in one"<sup>265</sup>

The full content of this union with Christ awaits its consummation in the world to come.<sup>266</sup> But it is this communion with Christ at the deepest levels which constitutes

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<sup>262</sup>Rutherford, *Christ Dying*, p. 241.

<sup>263</sup>Rutherford, *Covenant*, p. 181.

<sup>264</sup>Strickland, p. 60; Corbett, p. 73.

<sup>265</sup>Though the natural relation of Christ's humanity to the flesh of the elect is a part of the union, the essential aspect is certainly legal and federal. Corbett, pp. 69, 71-72; Rutherford, *Covenant*, pp. 208-209.

<sup>266</sup>Corbett, p. 72; Rutherford, *Christ Dying*, p. 354.

a Christian, as by an act of God alone the righteousness of God is imputed to the believer.<sup>267</sup>

Outside of this truth of union with Christ the Mediator there is no salvation or way to God, for He "is the bosome, the heart, the only new and living way and door to God; all creatures, Angels, Men, Saints are strangers to God."<sup>268</sup> But those in Him are made friends of God,<sup>269</sup> and receive the Spirit of Adoption who forever frees them from the spirit of bondage and fear.<sup>270</sup> This Spirit of Adoption, or Filiation, makes the one in Christ to have a new blood-relation to the family of God<sup>271</sup> so that he can pray to God as a true son in Christ.<sup>272</sup> Because Christ has satisfied the condemnation demanded by the Law, and His members are in Him legally, they can never suffer

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<sup>267</sup> Strickland, pp. 48,68,162. Justification is ours by imputation, but faith, repentance and sanctification are ours by participation in Christ (Ibid., p. 68). Strickland (p. 161) also explains, "There is no room here for an illicit separation between God and man, Christ and man, or Christ and grace because man's life is founded up and exists in union with God in Christ." Rutherford is very concerned in particular with the legal dying with Christ which frees us from the condemnation of the Law (Rutherford, *Covenant*, p. 211).

<sup>268</sup> Rutherford, *Christ Dying*, pp. 184,337,411,452.

<sup>269</sup> Ibid., p. 33.

<sup>270</sup> Ibid., p. 78.

<sup>271</sup> Rutherford, *Covenant*, p. 314.

<sup>272</sup> Rutherford, *Christ Dying*, p. 122.

in their own persons legal condemnation and death.<sup>273,274</sup> Furthermore, Rutherford maintains that in relation to the total universal good "there is more excellency in Gospel-rising than in Law-standing."<sup>275</sup>

God's redemptive purposes are actualized for the members of Christ by the Spirit who flows from the death of Christ.<sup>276</sup> He gives the Spirit in order that He may place the life of Christ within the believer.<sup>277</sup> The Spirit becomes the medium or context of salvation, the dimension in which it is accomplished,<sup>278</sup> as He unites

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<sup>273</sup> Rutherford, *Covenant*, p. 211.

<sup>274</sup> Rutherford also explains that "here on earth we are happy as *heires*, not as *Lords and possessors*, and in an union with the exterior, and revealed will of God, in beleiving, fearing, serving God, in *Christ*, in a practicall union with God but all this is but the way to the weell, not the weell it selfe, and the union with, a vision of God is mediate, farre off, in a mirrour, in the image, forme, characters, elements, or looking-glasse, of *Word, Sacraments, Ministry, Ordinances*, of hearing, praying, praysing, but in heaven wee see God face to face, that is without meanes, or the intervention of messengers, or ordinances . . . ." Rutherford, *Christ Dying*, pp. 350-351.

<sup>275</sup> Rutherford, *Covenant*, pp. 289-290.

<sup>276</sup> Strickland, p. 36. Therefore the application of salvation by the gracious working of the Spirit is not something separated from the revelation of God in Christ (*Ibid.*, p. 61).

<sup>277</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 158. Rutherford explains that "the breathings of the Holy Ghost goe so along with the word, as the word and the spirit are united, as if they were one Agent . . . ." (Rutherford, *Christ Dying*, p. 308) and "the person of the holy Ghost is not united to the soul of a believer, nor are there two persons here united or made one Spirit by union of person with person; but the person is said to come to the Saints, and to dwell with them . . . ." (*Ibid.*, pp. 464-465).

<sup>278</sup> Strickland, p. 103.



man to Christ both through the personal contact of the glorified Christ with the believer by means of the sacraments and experimental fellowship of believers and through the actualizing of the historical life of Christ within the believer.<sup>279</sup>

God's gracious workings of our salvation bring great consolation as the Gospel testifies of God and man personally satisfying Justice to the full,<sup>280</sup> the Father's giving of the Son, and the Son's receiving of sinners and undertaking for them so that they are no longer cast upon themselves.<sup>281</sup> While the mercies of God are ours freely, they cost Christ dearly.<sup>282</sup> Indeed the kingdom of grace is a hospital for the sick where Christ the Physician comes to the sick-bed (actually the death-bed) to heal man's sinful condition.<sup>283</sup>

To come to God through Christ is indeed an incomparable privilege,<sup>284</sup> which is worked only super-

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<sup>279</sup> Strickland, p. 37. It is further explained concerning Rutherford's pneumatology, "We are united effectually, permanently, and vitally to Christ's active obedience by the Holy Spirit, remaining active, conscious agents in God's movement of grace" (Ibid., p. 68), and "Faith, as repentance, is a work of the Spirit. Even imputed justification, in the sense in which it is dependent upon faith, is impossible without the activity of the Spirit realizing an historical union with Christ " (Ibid., p. 59).

<sup>280</sup> Rutherford, *Christ Dying*, p. 15.

<sup>281</sup> Rutherford, *Covenant*, p. 294.

<sup>282</sup> Ibid., p. 314; Rutherford, *Christ Dying*, p. 237.

<sup>283</sup> Ibid., p. 258; Rutherford, *Covenant*, p. 310.

<sup>284</sup> Rutherford, *Christ Dying*, p. 452.

naturally.<sup>285</sup> Rutherford explains that "*regeneration* putteth in us a new birth, the image of the *second Adam*; *Justification* formally is for the imputed righteousness of *Christ*, which is in *Christ*, not in us."<sup>286</sup> In regeneration, whereby Christ's life is put within the believer by the Spirit, making him a new creature, the believer is entirely passive.<sup>287</sup> In opposition to the Antinomians Rutherford argues that what is caused by Christ and Justification is sanctification and the new creature.<sup>288</sup> He contends, "It is most unsound to affirme, that *Justification* and *Regeneration* are all one; for this must confound all acts flowing from Justification, with those that flow from Regeneration, or the infused habit of Sanctification." Whereas justification is an indivisible, once-for-all act of grace which does not grow, sanctification is a continual, growing, daily process.<sup>289</sup>

All God's gracious activity--including reconciliation, justification, and regeneration--are part of His one eternal

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<sup>285</sup> Ibid., p. 455.

<sup>286</sup> Ibid., p. 78.

<sup>287</sup> Strickland, pp. 63,68.

<sup>288</sup> Rutherford, *Christ Dying*, p. 79.

<sup>289</sup> Ibid., pp. 271-272. Rutherford criticizes the Antinomians for teaching that "the new heart [is] no inherent grace in us, but that Christ is grace working immediately in us as in stones, and the new heart is justification, without us in Christ only . . . ." (Ibid., p. 473). He declares that "Grace is not onely in *Christ*, but in us properly. . . ." (Ibid., p. 268).

election of grace, and man's free will has no part whatsoever.<sup>290</sup> No man is able to come to Christ by himself,<sup>291</sup> for "no living man can put forth a vitall act of life, till the Lord be pleased to give him a new life."<sup>292</sup> In heaven and on earth there is no merit except that of Christ,<sup>293</sup> and there is nothing within any man which is worthy of the righteousness of Christ.<sup>294</sup> Therefore it is only of God's free election that we are accepted in the beloved.<sup>295</sup> All the glory for our salvation must be given to God because we are passive in the Spirit's recreating work within us.<sup>296</sup> Furthermore Christ draws us irresistibly so that our wills confirm to His good pleasure.<sup>297</sup> Grace is given us freely of the Father to cause us to believe, repent, and love Christ;<sup>298</sup> He freely promises to undertake to perform within us the promise of the new heart and empower us to obey the evangelical commandments given to us.<sup>299</sup>

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<sup>290</sup> Strickland, pp. 86-87.

<sup>291</sup> Rutherford, *Christ Dying*, p. 231.

<sup>292</sup> Ibid., p. 306.

<sup>293</sup> Ibid., p. 237.

<sup>294</sup> Ibid., p. 79.

<sup>295</sup> Ibid., p. 595.

<sup>296</sup> Strickland, pp. 65, 159.

<sup>297</sup> Rutherford, *Christ Dying*, pp. 306, 307, 313.

<sup>298</sup> Ibid., p. 268.

<sup>299</sup> Ibid., pp. 473, 476. Rutherford observes that "Christ is an Saviour, *efficacia*, by giving us the holy Ghost, and faith to lay hold on Righteousnesse in Christ, and grace to walk holily before him" (Ibid., p. 593).

Rutherford reacts strongly to the notion which would allow free will to suspend God from fulfilling His oath or be the cause of sinners being draw into covenant with God through Christ.<sup>300</sup> He insists that even the redeemed man is free only because the Spirit indwells him to will and to perform Christ's life.<sup>301,302</sup>

In the entire life of the Christian there is never a moment when he is cast upon his own resources or can boast of his own power; rather, life in union with

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<sup>300</sup> Ibid., pp. 314-317.

<sup>301</sup> Strickland, p. 162.

<sup>302</sup> Concerning the relationship of the Christian to the Law Rutherford teaches that (1) the believer is dead to the Law and its curse (Rutherford, *Covenant*, p. 258), (2) Christ does not remove us from the authority of the Law but adds a new bond of obligation for us (Rutherford, *Christ Dying*, p. 273), (3) we are not freed by Christ's obedience from active obedience to the moral Law (Ibid., p. 275), (4) the Libertines are wicked because they turn the grace of Christ into licentiousness (Ibid., p. 300), (5) the Antinomians are wrong (in their presumptuous imagination) in saying "that Christ hath obeyed, mortified the lusts of the flesh for the sinner; that no Law, no commandment of God, no letter of the Word, obligeth us to walke with God" (Ibid.), (6) though Christ has freed us from the dominion of the Law for justification, He has not freed us "from the rule and directing power of the Law to lead us in the images of sanctification and holinesse" (Ibid., p. 572), and (7) there is a good and holy use of the Law (Ibid., p. 590). Concerning good works Rutherford explains that (1) one must be saved and justified before he can perform good works, which are the fruit of free grace (Rutherford, *Covenant*, p. 176), (2) good works are necessary by the law of gratitude since we are debtors to God-incarnate for His work in our behalf (Ibid., p. 178), (3) "our owne good works cannot make our Lord love us lesse or more with the love of eternall election; but they may make God love us more with the love of complacency, and a sweeter manifestation of God in the fruits and gracious effects of his love" (Rutherford, *Christ Dying*, p. 75), and (4) the evidence of justification is found in holy walking (Ibid., p. 77), but there is a sense in which this assurance is not necessary (Ibid., p. 86).

Christ demands a constant reliance on the Spirit for spiritual energy and power.<sup>303</sup> Rutherford asserts:

*Christ has need to perfume our ill odours, with his merits, for our begun Sanctification is so unperfect, as that yet our water smelles of the rotten vessell, the flesh; and we cannot but have our ill houres, and our sicke daies, and so a disposition to sinful dissertions.*<sup>304</sup>

Thus sanctification is always imperfect because the disease of the first Adam sticks to us all our lives,<sup>305</sup> and we are sanctified only by degrees in this life.<sup>306</sup> But this necessity of holy walking does not detract from the freedom of Grace, and because man has a real part in this activity, the Antinomian error of human irresponsibility is avoided.<sup>307,308</sup> Rutherford further teaches that acts of sanctification are in no way "comparters and joynt causes or conditions in the work of justification," and in the latter God "accounts not us non-sinners and free from indwelling sinne, that should be an unjust account, for wee are not so . . . ." <sup>309</sup> On the one hand he argues that the Liber-

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<sup>303</sup>Strickland, p. 130.

<sup>304</sup>Rutherford, *Christ Dying*, p. 47.

<sup>305</sup>Ibid., p. 47; Strickland, p. 148.

<sup>306</sup>Rutherford, *Christ Dying*, p. 594.

<sup>307</sup>Ibid., pp. 594-595; Strickland, p. 79.

<sup>308</sup>Rutherford adds that "God accounteth our works perfect only negatively, that is, such they are before God, as he will not enter in judgement with us for them; but graciously pardoneth the sinnes of these works, but God doth not account these works positively worthy of life eternall, even in Christ, as he accounteth our persons, far lesse doth he judge them meritorious: hence there is a twofold acceptation; one of *Goodwill* to our persons in Christ . . . there is another acceptance of complacencie, according to which God is said to love and reward our good works . . . ." (Rutherford, *Christ Dying*, pp. 595-596.

<sup>309</sup>Ibid., pp. 594-595.

tines err by taking away sanctification and making justification all while the Papists, by removing justification and substituting a moral or civil sanctification.<sup>310</sup> But on the other hand he contends that the two cannot be separated, though justification is the cause more completely and perfectly and sanctification the effect, more imperfectly.<sup>311</sup> And it is Rutherford's opinion that it is a grave error to destroy sanctification by attributing all grace to Christ, including mortification; he summarizes his position as he states:

Now if the commands of the Gospel urge us not to personall obedience, but to believe that Christ (as S. saith) *has obeyed for us*, and that in the Gospel way, they cannot oblige us in a law-way as they teach, so by law and Gospel wee shall bee freed from all personall obedience and sanctification, *Saltmarsch* and *Liber-tines* bid us bee merry, and beleieve Christ has done all these for us.<sup>312</sup>

#### FAITH AND HUMAN RESPONSE

When he comes to the matter of faith it appears that Rutherford's concern for the sovereignty of God leads him to guard against the subjective tendency evidenced in many of his contemporaries. Yet there are still grounds for questioning whether he does justice to the full New Testament understanding of the faith.<sup>313</sup> He describes faith as a leaning on God, a coming to Him by way of af-

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<sup>310</sup> Ibid., p. 509.

<sup>311</sup> Ibid., p. 518.

<sup>312</sup> Ibid., p. 511. He insists that "Faith in *Christ* crucified is our mortification causatively, *in radice*, nor formally" (Rutherford, *Covenant*, p. 268).

<sup>313</sup> Corbett, pp. 66-67.

fiance, and a receiving of Christ;<sup>314</sup> through a Spirit-given capacity in faith one is actively united with Christ.<sup>315</sup> In fact, faith has both its context and its ultimate purpose in union with Christ.<sup>316</sup>

Although faith is a work of free grace and must presuppose conversion and a new heart as an essential condition,<sup>317</sup> both faith and regeneration are gifts of God's grace.<sup>318</sup> But, nevertheless, justifying faith is a condition required under the new Covenant,<sup>319</sup> and one is not justified in time before he believes.<sup>320</sup> Faith is the instrument whereby we are justified, receive Christ, receive and embrace the promise, and are given peace of conscience.<sup>321</sup> Faith is the instrument, not the cause

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<sup>314</sup> Rutherford, *Covenant*, p. 174.

<sup>315</sup> Strickland, p. 68.

<sup>316</sup> Ibid., p. 67; Corbett, p. 67.

<sup>317</sup> Rutherford, *Christ Dying*, p. 102.

<sup>318</sup> Strickland, p. 66.

<sup>319</sup> Rutherford, *Covenant*, p. 311; Strickland (p. 67) argues that by "condition" Rutherford means a moral state of the believer rather than an obligation which must be fulfilled by his effort. Rutherford is clear, however, in his teaching that although God in His freedom could have established something else as the condition of the Covenant, a lively sincere, and persevering faith is the only condition required under the Covenant of Grace (from the elect) for laying hold on the everlasting Covenant unto justification and eternal life. Corbett, pp. 66-67; Rutherford, *Covenant*, pp. 12, 30; Rutherford, *Christ Dying*, pp. 101, 252, 262-263, 477.

<sup>320</sup> Ibid., p. 73.

<sup>321</sup> Rutherford, *Christ Dying*, pp. 78, 272; *Covenant*, pp. 170, 209. Rutherford adds that "justification and remission, i. e. relaxing of our persons from a state of eternal condemnation, as is meant, *Romans*. 8.1. are not the object of faith, but the effect of faith" (Ibid., p. 209).



of justification<sup>322</sup> because of the object upon which it lays hold--Christ and His righteousness. Therefore justification can be accomplished even when one's faith is weak and impure,<sup>323</sup> because faith (or obedience or repentance) is never a ground upon which God justifies a sinner.<sup>324</sup> Rutherford explains, "Not that faith is the formall cause, or any merit in justification, but because it layes hold on imputed righteousness, which is the formall cause of our justification."<sup>325</sup>

This faith which lays hold on Christ is never a work of man's own efforts, but always a gift of God, brought about by the Holy Spirit. Man's faith does not effect his salvation, but is merely the necessary consequence of his being indwelt by the Spirit in correspondence to his eternal election in Christ unto salvation.<sup>326</sup> Nevertheless, in faith the Christian is not passive;<sup>327</sup> according to his sense he loves and chooses Christ and then apprehends by faith that Christ has first loved him with an everlasting love. Rutherford explains, "We doe receive the promise of willing and doing, wrought immediately in us, according to the good will and most free grace of

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<sup>322</sup>Strickland, p. 76.

<sup>323</sup>Rutherford, *Covenant*, pp. 172,206; *Christ Dying*, p. 85.

<sup>324</sup>*Ibid.*, p. 77.

<sup>325</sup>*Ibid.*, p. 252.

<sup>326</sup>Corbett, pp. 66-67; Strickland, pp. 73,76,87; Rutherford, *Christ Dying*, pp. 252,262-263.

<sup>327</sup>Strickland, p. 68.

*Christ*, and yet we are agents, and work under *Christ*."<sup>328</sup>

Distinguished from faith and also wrought directly by the activity of the Holy Spirit is repentance, which is neither prior to faith nor a moral condition of justification.<sup>329</sup> Rutherford explains, "Now wee are not justified by repentance and mortification; wee neither receive Christ, nor embrace the promises by repentance."<sup>330</sup> Although he considers repentance to be an "Evangelike ingredient in a *Saint*," he warns that those who show no evidence of remorse or contrition prove themselves not to be believers in Christ.<sup>331,332</sup>

#### ASSURANCE

In his framework the final ground and source of all assurance is in the revelation of God's reconciling love in Christ.<sup>333</sup> But there is also an assurance of

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<sup>328</sup>Rutherford, *Christ Dying*, pp. 250,252.

<sup>329</sup>Strickland, pp. 71-72.

<sup>330</sup>Rutherford, *Christ Dying*, p. 272.

<sup>331</sup>*Ibid.*, p. 247.

<sup>332</sup>Rutherford also argues that "*to cure too suddenly wounds, and to honey secure and proud sinners, and sweeten and oyle a Pharisee, and to reach the Mediators blood to an unhumbléd soule, is but to turne the Gospel into a charme . . .*" (*Ibid.*, p. 256). He adds "Its true, to all within the visible Church, Christ is offered without price or money; but to be received after Christs fashion and order, not after our order; that is, after the soule is under selfe-despair of salvation, and in the sinners moneth, when hee hath been with childe of hell. I grant, in regard of time, sinners cannot come too soon to Christ, nor too early to Wisdome; but in regard of order, many come too soon, and unprepared" (*Ibid.*, p. 258).

<sup>333</sup>Strickland, pp. 150,155. Therefore, there is a sense in which assurance is not necessary.

salvation which is given by the Spirit first as "a granting of an ability to the believer to perceive the work of sanctification which has taken place in him as a work which can only be done by God," and secondly as an internal testimony to the fact of redemption in Christ, which is "founded entirely upon the immediate communication by the Spirit to the being of the believer of his union with Christ."<sup>334</sup> Rutherford summarizes this ministry of the Spirit as he writes, "The testimony of the *Holy Spirit*, is the efficacious and actuall illumination and irradiation of the Sunne of righteousness and his *Spirit*, assuring us that wee are the sonnes of God."<sup>335</sup>

But Rutherford also teaches a subjective type of assurance which is based on the evidences of election within rather than the work of Christ on man's behalf.<sup>336</sup> This is a "mediate" assurance determined by the effects of grace which testify to the reality of the Spirit's new creation within the heart.<sup>337</sup> Though these marks may be imperfect, such evidences as holy walking, divine motives, and the vital acts of the life of faith, make one's calling and election both sure and firm--not to God, but to the individual himself.<sup>338</sup> Conversely, it is declared that

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<sup>334</sup> Ibid., pp. 152, 154-156.

<sup>335</sup> Rutherford, *Christ Dying*, p. 99.

<sup>336</sup> Corbett, p. 70.

<sup>337</sup> Strickland, p. 153.

<sup>338</sup> Rutherford, *Christ Dying*, pp. 100, 108-109. The Holy Spirit is said to have made such evidences "way-markes to heaven."

"if a man be a servant of sin, and walk after the flesh, and be given up to a reprobate mind to commit sin with greedinesse, such a one hath good warrant to believe that *God* is not his *Father* and that he is not in *Christ* . . . ." <sup>339</sup>

#### THE CHURCH AND THE SACRAMENTS

Very much related to his doctrine of the Spirit is Rutherford's conception of the Church, <sup>340</sup> which is the spouse of Christ, His mystical body, over which He is Head; it is added that "Christ loved his Church, both by will, and nature, and cannot forget her, she is Christs gold, and his treasure . . . ." <sup>341</sup> In every activity of the Church, including, evangelism, teaching, discipline, and public worship, the absolute prerequisite for her life is the presence of the Holy Spirit. <sup>342</sup> And since she is a manifestation of grace--in that the Holy Spirit is her creator, sustainer, and leader and she has the vital life of Christ within--the Church is never allowed to play a mediatorial role between God and man; she in herself is neither gracious nor the container of grace. She is the

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<sup>339</sup> Ibid., p. 71.

<sup>340</sup> Rutherford is criticized for an unsatisfactory doctrine of the Church (Strickland, p. 120) because (1) he carried his predestinarian dualism into his doctrine of the Church (Corbett, pp. 69-70; Rutherford, *Covenant*, p. 94), (2) he seems intolerant by modern standards (Strickland, p. 104), and (3) his ecclesiology is determined more by questionable political philosophy, sociology, and inherited structures, than by Christology (Ibid., p. 120).

<sup>341</sup> Rutherford, *Christ Dying*, pp. 396, 528-529; Rutherford, *Covenant*, p. 233. The headship of Christ is clearly applied only to the Church.

<sup>342</sup> Strickland, pp. 119-120.

result, not the cause, of God's giving Himself to man in the revelation of Jesus Christ.<sup>343</sup>

Rutherford argues that Christ is not Head of the Church as it is visible, but only of the Church as invisible. Only in the large sense of His communicating graces for the ministry, government, and discipline of the Church can He be called Head of the Church as visible, for in such a notion Rutherford finds "the Arminian doctrine of universal grace." Macpherson explains concerning Rutherford's view:

In marking the distinction between the visible and the invisible Church, Rutherford points out that there are some saints by external vocation who are not chosen, some saints by internal and effectual vocation, called and chosen of God. Any who blasphemously profess Christ are ecclesiastically, *in foro ecclesiae*, true and valid members of the Church visible, but unless they be *sincere* believers they are not, morally and *in fore Dei*, living members of the invisible Church.<sup>344</sup>

Therefore this conception of the two Churches serves the interest of his predestinarian dualism; the visible Church contains both the elect and the reprobate, while the true, invisible Church contains only the elect.<sup>345</sup>

For membership in the visible Church only external profession is required;<sup>346</sup> therefore, the Church is "made

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<sup>343</sup>Ibid., p. 161.

<sup>344</sup>Macpherson, pp. 64-65.

<sup>345</sup>Corbett, p. 70. Rutherford maintains "Christ speaks to reprobates in the Visible Church even when the matter of the command is Evangelick, as to non-confederates of grace in a Law way, and in a Law intention. For he cannot bid them obey upon any other ground then legislative authority not upon the ground of Redemption-love bestowed on them, or that he died out of love to save all and every one . . ." (Rutherford, *Covenant*, p. 193.

<sup>346</sup>Walker, p. 119.

up of all baptized adherents, who continue to frequent the preaching<sup>h</sup> of the word." Though he is profoundly aware of the need of regeneration, the fact of regeneration, he feels, cannot be made a note or an essential requirement of Church members.<sup>347</sup> However, Rutherford does insist on the necessity of Church discipline; he observes:

I conceive that excommunication hath neither election nor reprobation; regeneration nor non-regeneration, for its object or terminus; but only it cutteth a contumacious person from the visible Church on earth, and from the Head Christ in heaven, not in regard of his state of regeneration, as if Christ, ratifying the sentence in heaven, did so much as cut him off conditionally, from being a member of His body. No, but in regard of the second acts of the life of God, and the sweet efficacy and operation of the Spirit, by which the ordinances are less living, less operative, and vigorous--the man being, as Mr. Cotton says, as a palsied member, in which life remaineth but a little withered and blunted, and be in Satan's power to vex his spirit; and therefore I grant all to imply that excommunication is not a real separating of a man from Christ's body, --only unbelief does that,--but it follows not--therefore it is a separation only from the external society of the Church. For (1) this external cutting off is ratified in heaven; (2) Christ hath ratified it by a real<sup>348,349</sup> internal suspension of the influences of His Spirit in heaven.

For Rutherford the sacraments are seals of a "pact"<sup>350</sup> and baptism is grounded upon the federal or ex-

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<sup>347</sup> Macpherson, pp. 70-71, 78-79.

<sup>348</sup> Quoted from Walker, p. 133.

<sup>349</sup> Concerning the relationship between the Church and state Rutherford (1) opposes the view of those who make Christ's kingdom only mystical and invisible, so that Christ is not a King to bind the external man or to care for the external government of His own house, which, like all other external things, they understand to belong to the civil magistrate (Macpherson, p. 184), (2) "did not scruple to say that the civil authority might and should compel men to enter the membership" of the visible Church (Ibid., p. 80), and (3) states that "the Church passes no judgment on any man's spiritual state, but only on his visible profession and outward mark" (Ibid., p. 84).

<sup>350</sup> T. F. Torrance, "Baptism," p. 30.

ternal holiness; it is not connected with the personal faith of the parents.<sup>351</sup> And the Eucharist is to be offered only to those who are judged to be capable of examining themselves and in the acting of faith do show the Lord's death. Therefore, to be refused this sacrament are infants and children, ignorant and scandalously flagitious persons, and insane people.<sup>352</sup> For Rutherford these sacraments are precious because they are not simply signs and figures of spiritual realities; rather they are Christ-ordained means of union with God. But since it is the Holy Spirit alone who transforms these symbols into the vital act of union with Christ, there is the elimination of the danger of identifying these ordinances with any physical grace which can be given, sold, or dispensed by the Church, and allowance is made for the absolute freedom of Grace. Thus while man is obliged to use the sacraments, God is obliged only by His own love and may make use of them to effect our union with Christ.<sup>353</sup>

#### SUMMARY

Although Rutherford's deep evangelical piety, along with his broad scope of reading and careful argumentation, is abundantly manifested in his writings, his

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<sup>351</sup> Walker, p. 121.

<sup>352</sup> Macpherson, p. 84.

<sup>353</sup> Strickland, pp. 116-118. Strickland comments in this regard, "Having made these general remarks about the Spirit in the sacraments, we are somewhat surprised to note that Rutherford does not develop this theme to any great extent."



theological framework is certainly that of Federal Calvinism, though there are at least slight correctives in his approach. He seems to operate primarily with legal categories which detract from the loving Fatherhood of God and His filial purposes for mankind. The atonement, though not necessitated by the divine nature of justice but by the free decree of God, is almost entirely forensic, centring in Christ's substitutionary death on behalf of the elect.

Rutherford appears to overlook the radical solidarity of Christ with mankind by virtue of His Incarnation. For him a man is joined with Christ only by faith in His death. Thus both the doctrine of the vicarious humanity of Christ and union with Christ are not given the central place attributed to them in the theology of Calvin and Knox. And Rutherford teaches a restricted atonement, one intended only for the elect, because the fraternity of Christ with all human flesh is apparently lost.

In the matter of assurance and Church discipline marks within the individual are all important. And similarly there is much exhortation in Rutherford's writings and turning to the individual self rather than to the great objective fact of Christ's Person and finished work on behalf of all mankind, which has been eternally accepted by the Father.

Also in his detailed discussion of the Covenant one cannot help but ask whether Christ is not being subordinated to the Covenant, rather than the Covenant to

Christ. This great biblical doctrine can never be understood properly unless it is interpreted Christologically. Only in this way will its essential unity be preserved; certainly Rutherford allows the Covenant to be divided and is thus led into the consequent system of Federalism.

## CHAPTER VII

### DAVID DICKSON

It is probably in the theological system of David Dickson (1583?-1663)<sup>1</sup> that one finds the highest and clearest expression of the Scottish Federal Calvinism of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. He has been described as one of the finest spirits of the Scottish Church,<sup>2</sup> a man who in his own time was most highly esteemed, carried great weight in the councils of the Church, and was unsurpassed in his spreading of the faith of the Church and giving it a permanent form.<sup>3</sup>

#### THE MAN, HIS BACKGROUND, AND CONTRIBUTIONS TO SCOTLAND

In his theology he appears both as a scholarly Biblical expositor seeking to make the Word of God heard and honoured in Scotland and as a scholastic Calvinist who operates within a deterministic and forensic framework of the atonement.<sup>4</sup> Thus he can be said to have aided in providing a considerable elaboration to the moderate

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<sup>1</sup>Sometimes his last name is written "Dick," instead of "Dickson." T. F. Henderson, "Dickson, or Dick, David," *Dictionary of National Biography*, 1888, XV, p. 41.

<sup>2</sup>McNeill, p. 308.

<sup>3</sup>Macleod, p. 83.

<sup>4</sup>Corbett, p. 40.

federalism expressed in the *Westminster Confession*,<sup>5</sup> and to have initiated and given an impetus to that exegetical and expository movement which was meant to bring the fruit of academic work to the common man in the pew.<sup>6</sup> It is said that both his true glory and his greatest contribution to Scotland was in his Biblical exposition.<sup>7</sup>

Dickson was educated at the university in Glasgow where, after his graduation, he was appointed one of the regents or professors of philosophy. Upon the conclusion of this term of office (1618), he was ordained minister of the parish of Irvine, where he served for twenty-three years.<sup>8</sup> His parish experience, however, was interrupted for a short period of banishment to Aberdeenshire (1622) because of troubles with the civil authorities concerning the five articles of Perth. Although he was temporarily silenced and banished by the civil magistrates, he was permitted in 1623 to return to his charge and continue in his ministry unmolested.<sup>9</sup> He also "formed one of the deputation of noblemen and influential ministers deputed by the covenanters to visit Aberdeen to invite the ministry and gentry into the covenant." He distinguished himself by his speech of tact and wisdom at the memorial General Assembly which met at Glasgow in 1638, and was elected

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<sup>5</sup>Ibid., p. 43.

<sup>6</sup>Macleod, p. 86.

<sup>7</sup>Corbett, p. 39; Walker, p. 14.

<sup>8</sup>T. F. Henderson, "Dickson," p. 41; Corbett, p. 39.

<sup>9</sup>T. F. Henderson, "Dickson," p. 41; Macleod, p. 83.

moderator of the assembly the following year at Edinburgh. In the next year (1640) he was appointed to the newly instituted professorship in Divinity at Glasgow, where he served until he was translated to the Divinity chair of the university of Edinburgh (1650).<sup>10</sup> In 1650 he was also appointed by the committee of the Kirk as one of a deputation to congratulate Charles II on his arrival in Scotland. But it is added that, "For reclining to take the oath of supremacy at the Restoration he was evicted from his chair, and the hardships to which he had to submit had such injurious effects that he gradually failed in health and died in the beginning of 1663."<sup>11</sup>

He is the author of the first commentary on the Westminster Confession as well as other theological and exegetical works. But his most important work is his *Therapeutica Sacra* . . . (1656) which is particularly concerned with his dealings with matters pertaining to the conscience.<sup>12</sup> Though the book appeared originally in Latin, it was followed by the publication of the author's own translation (1st edition) in 1695).<sup>13</sup>

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<sup>10</sup>T. F. Henderson, "Dickson," pp. 41-42; Macleod, p. 83; Walker, p. 14; Corbett, p. 39.

<sup>11</sup>T. F. Henderson, "Dickson," p. 42.

<sup>12</sup>Ibid.; Macleod, pp. 83-85. McNeill (p. 308) describes this book as a work of casuistry. It appeared in the same year as Cocceius' *Summa*.

<sup>13</sup>T. F. Henderson, "Dickson," p. 42. Concerning his alleged co-authorship of "The Sum of Saving Knowledge" and its contents, see pp. 499-502.

GOD, MAN, AND SIN

Dickson teaches that there is one God existing eternally in three Persons, the Father, the Son, and the Holy Spirit; though each is offended by man's sin, He is content to take satisfaction to divine justice in the Person of the Son, as the designated Mediator.<sup>14</sup> It is in the power of God to punish sin in whom He will and to pardon sin through a Mediator to whom He will.<sup>15</sup> Therefore God's mercy and grace are displayed as He, setting no bounds to Himself, pardons and abolishes the sins of those that come unto Him, no matter how gross and grievous they may have been.<sup>16</sup> It is added that "since the fall of *Adam*, God hath always been in Christ, going about to reconcile the Worlde to Himself, not imputing their transgressions to them."<sup>17</sup>

Man's nature, following Adam's fall, is described as being impure, muddy, and foul;<sup>18</sup> man is blind and ignorant of his sin and misery as well as the right manner of serving God.<sup>19</sup> Furthermore, man's pride is fostered,

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<sup>14</sup>David Dickson, *Therapeutica Sacra: Shewing Briefly, the Method of Healing the Diseases of the Conscience, Concerning Regeneration*, (translated by the author) (2nd ed.; Edinburgh: Printed by James Watson, 1697), p. 37 (Hereafter designated as *T. S.*).

<sup>15</sup>*Ibid.*, pp. 203-204.

<sup>16</sup>*Ibid.*, p. 396.

<sup>17</sup>*Ibid.*, p. 405.

<sup>18</sup>*Ibid.*, p. 71.

<sup>19</sup>*Ibid.*, p. 333.

he is hindered from humbling himself before God, and he is deceived into attempting to save himself, by the influences of Satan.<sup>20</sup> But Dickson still appears to hold that there are certain natural endowments in creation which remain in man after he is spoiled by sin. Therefore, one can begin at the light of nature and reason out salvation in Christ in terms of legal necessities and the punishment due to human guilt.<sup>21</sup>

### THE PERSON OF CHRIST

In his framework of federalism there is strong stress on the deity of Christ; He is described as the "Creator, Up-holder and Governour of all things, very co-eternal God with the Father, and Holy Spirit."<sup>22</sup> Furthermore, it is asserted that "the fulness of God in Three Persons, was in the Second Person of the God-head the Mediator Christ Jesus . . . ."<sup>23</sup> But the Son of God assumed humanity, being made like unto man. Dickson declares concerning Christ's two natures by means of the Incarnation:

Whereby the Son is both the Party offended as God, one essentially with the Father and holy Spirit; and the Party contracter also, as God designed Mediator personally for redeeming Man, who with consent of the Father and holy Spirit, from all Eternity willed and purposed in the fulness of time, to assume the humane Nature in personal Union with Himself, and for the Elect's sake to become Man, and to take the Cause of the Elect in Hand, to bring them back to the Friendship of God, and full enjoyment of felicity for evermore.<sup>24</sup>

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<sup>20</sup> Ibid., p. 19.

<sup>21</sup> Corbett, p. 91.

<sup>22</sup> Dickson, *T. S.*, pp. 276-277.

<sup>23</sup> Ibid., pp. 229-230.

<sup>24</sup> Ibid., p. 37.



In his presentation of Christ's humanity Dickson is very concerned with guarding its purity and sinlessness. It is explained that Christ took upon Him our nature and our common sinless infirmities, becoming like us in all things except sin. He assumed "all the common and sinless Infirmities, Passions and Perturbations of our Nature," but was separate from sinners in that His holy human nature "was altogether pure, like unto clear and pure Fountain Water, in a Glass, which howsoever it be troubled and tossed, remaineth most pure and free of all mudiness."<sup>25</sup>

#### THE OFFICES OF CHRIST

Although Christ as Mediator is said to be an Advocate, a Surety,<sup>26</sup> and Redeemer to open blind eyes, cover the naked with the garment of His imputed righteousness, and to enrich the poor, needy, and unworthy out of the store-house of His unsearchable riches of grace,<sup>27</sup> there is a special three-fold office attributed to Him-- Prophet, Priest, and King.<sup>28</sup> This three-fold mediatory office, and its most sweet relations, abundantly testifies of Christ's willingness to save all who come to God by

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<sup>25</sup> Ibid., pp. 63,68,71. This statement seems to infer that Christ could not be tempted in the same manner in which all other descendants of Adam are tried.

<sup>26</sup> Ibid., p. 227.

<sup>27</sup> Ibid., pp. 341-342.

<sup>28</sup> Ibid., pp. 227,277.

Him.<sup>29</sup> And this office "doth obviat and meet the Doubts of the humbled Soul under the sense of unworthiness"<sup>30</sup> and serves to present us perfect without spot or blemish before the Father.<sup>31</sup>

Because Christ is the treasure of all wisdom and knowledge who has revealed in the Scriptures the whole counsel of God concerning our salvation," He is judicially made over unto us as anointed Prophet to His Church, to make known unto us the way of Life by His Word and Spirit."<sup>32</sup> He is the Prophet given of God to inform the ignorant, open the eyes of the blind, and persuade such to embrace by a lively faith all saving doctrines.<sup>33</sup> Therefore it is our duty to receive Him as God's great gift, to give up ourselves to His teaching, and to seek His direction by His Word as to what we should believe and how we should live before God. And since He is made unto us Wisdom from God, even the weakest believer may trust Him for guidance in the use of the Scripture and exercise of the means appointed unto salvation.<sup>34</sup>

He is also a Priest, made of God unto us righteousness and sanctification, whereby He cleanses us by mortification.

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<sup>29</sup>Ibid., p. 478.

<sup>30</sup>Ibid., p. 340.

<sup>31</sup>Ibid., p. 335.

<sup>32</sup>Ibid., p. 333.

<sup>33</sup>Ibid., pp. 340-341.

<sup>34</sup>Ibid., pp. 333-334.

fying our corruptions and perfecting at last the image of God within us.<sup>35</sup> He is a fit High Priest who comforts us because He is touched with our infirmities and temptations.<sup>36</sup> By His Intercession Christ the Mediator applies to us His purchased benefits,<sup>37</sup> granting us absolution from our sins, making us to be accepted as righteous, and causes us to be kept in our new estate,<sup>38</sup> as He remains at the right hand of the Father making request for all that call upon Him.<sup>39</sup>

Christ is also appointed of God to be the King for those within His body. Dickson declares:

And albeit he have the World and his own Flesh, and the power of all Principalities and spiritual wickedness, with many Miseries in this Life to wrestle with; yet he hath Christ Jesus as King made of God unto him *Redemption*, upon his flying to Christ for Refuge against all his enemies; so that he may be sure to be found among them whom He hath Redeemed by Price-paying, and for whom He hath undertaken powerfully to sustain them in all this War-fare, whatsoever Misery they may be in, and at last to bring them out of all Sins and Misery to a perfect Rest in everlasting Glory.<sup>40</sup>

#### THE WORK OF CHRIST

As the Mediator Christ makes atonement in His uniqueness as God and man.<sup>41</sup> He offers Himself of His own accord to be the Pledge and Surety of our eternal

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<sup>35</sup> Ibid., p. 341.

<sup>36</sup> Ibid., p. 81.

<sup>37</sup> Ibid., p. 98.

<sup>38</sup> Ibid., p. 334.

<sup>39</sup> Ibid., p. 736.

<sup>40</sup> Ibid., p. 341.

<sup>41</sup> Corbett, p. 52.

salvation<sup>42</sup> and pays the incomprehensible price of our redemption.<sup>43</sup> But it appears that for Dickson the Incarnation has its necessity in God's requirement that sin be punished in human nature which sinned.<sup>44</sup> He seems to think of the Incarnation entirely as being necessitated by man's failure to keep the Covenant of Works, and he appears to give no consideration to the positive character of the Incarnation.<sup>45</sup>

While in his framework there is a retention of the earlier view of the representative aspect of Christ's work, it is spoken of as judicial; Dickson maintains:

For as whatever Christ either did or suffered in our name and place is reckoned ours in Gods account, so what ever Christ received in our name and place is reckoned ours also: Therefore in the Resurrection of Christ, by the Covenant of Redemption, the Redeemed did also rise with him judicially, or in a judicial way. In Christs ascension into heaven, the Redeemed judicially, ascend with him; in Christs sitting, or glorious possession of eternal life, the Redeemed in a judicial way do sit, and are placed with him.<sup>46</sup>

The Mediator is also said to represent man judicially and bear his sin.<sup>47</sup> In Dickson's thought there appears to be a difference between Christ and ourselves in His work which

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<sup>42</sup>Dickson, *T. S.*, p. 97.

<sup>43</sup>*Ibid.*, pp. 345-346.

<sup>44</sup>David Dickson, *An Exposition of all St. Pauls Epistles, Together With an Explanation of Those Other Epistles of the Apostles, St. James, Peter, John and Jude: Wherein the Sense of Every Chapter and Verse is Analytically Unfolded, and the Text Enlightened* (London: Printed by R. I. for Francis Eglesfield, 1659), (Hebrews 2:11) p. 188 (Hereafter designated as *Epistles*); Corbett, p. 50.

<sup>45</sup>Corbett, p. 51.

<sup>46</sup>Dickson, *Epistles*, (Ephesians 2:6), p. 113; Corbett, p. 52.

<sup>47</sup>Dickson, *Epistles*, (II Corinthians 3:21), p. 80; Corbett, p. 51.

fails to take into account the radical representative nature of that work.<sup>48</sup>

Dickson's essential interest is in the substitutionary character of Christ's work, in that God regards what Christ accomplished as if it had been performed in our place.<sup>49</sup> He asserts, It is agreed between the Father and the Son, that our Sins should be imputed unto Him, and His righteousness imputed unto us . . . ."<sup>50</sup> Although at first sight he appears to accept the traditional reformed position regarding the active obedience of Christ, he insists that both Christ's active and passive obedience must be imputed to us.<sup>51</sup> And he seems to be uneasy about the positive character of the active obedience,<sup>52</sup> which he defines purely in terms of suffering.<sup>53</sup> Nevertheless, he teaches concerning Christ's victory over temptation, that although

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<sup>48</sup>Corbett, p. 54. In countering the teaching of the Arminians he states, "Because repentance, being a turning from our sins and evil ways, and a turning to God; and Christ being without sin, could not be capable to repent in our stead . . ." David Dickson, *Truth's Victory Over Error* (Glasgow: John Bryce, 1764), p. 75 (Hereafter designed as *Truth's Victory*).

<sup>49</sup>Corbett, p. 52.

<sup>50</sup>Dickson, *T. S.*, p. 89.

<sup>51</sup>Dickson, *Truth's Victory*, p. 75; Corbett, p. 53.

<sup>52</sup>Dickson, *Epistles*, (Hebrews 5:8) p. 233.

<sup>53</sup>Dickson, *T. S.*, pp. 56-57; Corbett, p. 53. Dickson maintains, "His Active and Passive Obedience, are but two Notions of one thing; for, His Incarnation, Subjection to the Law, and the whole Course of His Life was a continued Course of Suffering, and in all His Sufferings He was a free and voluntary Agent, fulfilling all which he had undertaken unto the Father, for making out the promised Price of Redemption, and accomplishing what the Father had given Him Command to do."

He could not be defiled with sin, yet He was tempted of Satan unto the most abominable sins.<sup>54</sup> He was tempted as we are in all things but was never tainted with sin. While the guilt of all the sins, crimes, and vile deeds of all the chosen from the beginning of the world were imputed unto Him, His conscience was in no wise polluted.<sup>55</sup>

The highest degree of obedience, whereby He bought deliverance from sin and eternal blessedness was His death on the cross, completing our ransom, as He suffered as much as Justice required, and no more.<sup>56</sup> His suffering was most intense, for that which He endured "was, in some respect, of the same kind with the torment of the Damned," and upon Him was placed the curse

wherein the full Wrath of God, and the Dregs of that horrible Cup, was poured forth upon His holy humane Nature, while Heaven, and Earth, and Hell, seemed to conspire to take Vengeance on Him, and fully to punish our Sins in the Person of Him our Surety, and by that cursed Death of the Cross, which was the evidence foretold of the Malediction of God lying on Him, in so far as was necessary to compleat the punishment of loss and feeling both in body and soul.<sup>57</sup>

Only the Incarnation and death of the Son of God, the Mediator, could satisfy divine Justice,<sup>58</sup> but by Christ's sacrifice the Father has declared Himself propitiated for all for whom Christ undertook.<sup>59</sup>

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<sup>54</sup>Dickson, T. S., p. 425.

<sup>55</sup>Ibid., pp. 61-62.

<sup>56</sup>Ibid., p. 57.

<sup>57</sup>Ibid., pp. 75-76.

<sup>58</sup>Ibid., p. 97.

<sup>59</sup>Ibid., p. 346.

By His blood there is the purchase for us of peace, reconciliation, deliverance from wrath, and the healing of our sinful sicknesses,<sup>60</sup> as well as our infallible conversion, sanctification, and perseverance unto perfection.<sup>61</sup> In fact, every spiritual motion within us flows from His purchase and its application.<sup>62</sup> By Christ's assumption of our humanity and obedience we are redeemed and ransomed and are given by the mystery of His Person "a perpetual Pawn, and pledge of his Hearty willingness to reconcile, Justify, Sanctify, and save to the uttermost every one who shall come unto God through Him."<sup>63</sup> Furthermore in His blood there is the unique revelation of certain truths; Dickson observes:

For in the Price of Redemption payed, as in a Mirror, we may see how greatly the Lord hateth Sin; how great His Love is to the World in sending His Son Christ amongst us; how heavy the Wrath of God shall ly upon them that flee not to Christ's Satisfaction for their Dilivery: how great the Dignity and Excellency of the Lord our Redeemer is, for whose Cause Reconciliation is granted to all that take hold of the Offer of Grace through Him; how great the obligation of Believers is to love God, and serve Him; and how greatly the Glory of all the Attributes of God, doth shine in the Work of Redemption.<sup>64</sup>

Dickson consistently restricts the price paid by Christ for the satisfaction of divine Justice to the elect. And Christ is said to have assumed humanity and become the near Kinsman only for His own. Dickson declares in ex-

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<sup>60</sup>Ibid., p. 88.

<sup>61</sup>Ibid., p. 98.

<sup>62</sup>Ibid., p. 100.

<sup>63</sup>Ibid., p. 478.

<sup>64</sup>Ibid., pp. 80-81.



position of I Timothy 2:5-6:

*There is one God and one Mediator between God and Man (to wit, God incarnat) the Man Christ Jesus who gave Himself a Ransom for all (to wit elect children) to be testified in due time."*<sup>65</sup>

Similarly Dickson limits "the world" for whom propitiation is made (I John 2:2) and God is said to have loved (John 3:16) strictly to the "elect world."<sup>66</sup> He argues that Christ has not become Surety for all men, offered Himself for all, or sanctified, consecrated, and perfected every member of the human race. He concludes:

*So far is it from God's purpose and Christ's to Redeem All and Every Man, that He hath not decreed to give every Nation so much as the external necessary Means for Conversion and Salvation*  
 . . . . .<sup>67</sup>

He describes as a false doctrine the teaching that there is a universal redemption unto life for all and every man, since only a certain number are given to the Son by the Father.<sup>68</sup>

#### THE COVENANT CONCEPT

Dickson's understanding of God's soteriological purposes for mankind revolves around his teaching concerning the three covenants<sup>69</sup>--(1) the Covenant of Works between God and Adam, (2) the Covenant of Redemption, made between the Father and the Son, and (3) the Covenant of Grace or

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<sup>65</sup>Ibid., p. 41.

<sup>66</sup>Ibid., pp. 43,53.

<sup>67</sup>Ibid., pp. 54-55.

<sup>68</sup>Ibid., pp. 92,94.

<sup>69</sup>Ibid., p. 35; Faris, p. 181.

Reconciliation, made between God and believers or between Christ and the elect.<sup>70</sup> Especially this sharp dualism between nature and grace testifies to what Dickson sees as God's two ways of dealing with man.<sup>71</sup> And it must be admitted that all three covenants are formulated on the basis of contractual language.<sup>72</sup> In fact, "covenant" and "contract" are seen as synonymous by Dickson; he asserts, "A divine Covenant we call, a Contract or Paction, wherein God is at least the party Contracter."<sup>73</sup>

God's making of a covenant with man tended both to man's good and happiness and for the manifestation of His own glory. And although God humbled Himself in this covenant transaction, by dealing with man as a mutual friend, He also did "most wisely and holily have a Respect to the Glory of His own, both Sovereignty and Holiness," as is seen in His promise to man of reward for obedience and punishment for transgression.<sup>74</sup> Dickson also asserts that

both the making and way of making a covenant with Man, dependeth absolutely on God, either to make a Covenant or not, to make what Covenant He pleaseth to make, upon what Conditions He

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<sup>70</sup>Corbett, p. 43; Dickson, *T. S.*, p. 35. Dickson actually lists the Covenant of Redemption first because it was transacted in the Council of the Trinity before the world was created. But in his overall structure it is the Covenant of Works which appears to come first by its very nature.

<sup>71</sup>Corbett, p. 57.

<sup>72</sup>J. B. Torrance, "Covenant," pp. 62-63.

<sup>73</sup>Dickson, *T. S.*, p. 35.

<sup>74</sup>*Ibid.*, pp. 107, 109-110.

pleaseth,<sup>75</sup> and with what Persons He pleaseth to make His Covenant.

The Covenant of Works was made between God and men in Adam "in his Integrity indued with all natural Perfections, enabling him to keep it, so long as it pleased him to stand to the condition."<sup>76</sup> In this covenant man's continuation in happiness is made dependent upon his perfect personal obedience, which must flow from the natural strength bestowed upon him.<sup>77</sup> Therefore it has to do with man's natural relation to God in the creation<sup>78</sup> and may be called the Covenant of Nature because it was naturally engrafted in the hearts of all men.<sup>79</sup> Although its condition was the giving of perfect obedience to the Law,<sup>80</sup> its end was that stiff-necked people might be made aware of their imperfection before God.<sup>81</sup> And this covenant required no Mediator; Dickson asserts:

No Mediator was in this Covenant; for the party on the one hand, was God, and on the other hand was *Adam* and *Eve*, our common

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<sup>75</sup>Ibid., pp. 202-203. Dickson states explicitly that "the Lord will have all Men to understand, that the End of His Covenanting with Men, both in that Old Dark Form, and in the New clear Form, is His own Glory . . . ." Furthermore it is maintained, "Both the Covenant of Redemption made with Christ in the Redeemer's Name, and the Covenant of Reconciliation made with us through Christ, are of God's making, and so must stand, and cannot be dis-annuled for ever" (Ibid., p. 332).

<sup>76</sup>Ibid., p. 35.

<sup>77</sup>Ibid., p. 104.

<sup>78</sup>Dickson, *Epistles*, (Romans 1:13-20), p. 3; Corbett, p. 44.

<sup>79</sup>Dickson, *T. S.*, p. 116.

<sup>80</sup>Ibid., p. 126; Corbett, p. 44.

<sup>81</sup>Dickson, *T. S.*, p. 123.

Parents, standing upon the ground of their natural Abilities, representing and comprehending all their Natural Off-spring; and according to the Condition of the Covenant in their own name, and name of their Posterity, promising Obedience, and receiving the condition of Life if they continued, and Death in case they failed. . . .

Now, the necessity of a Mediator did not appear in this Covenant, so long as it stood, that afterward in the making of another Covenant it might more timeously appear. First, because Man being created Holy according to the Image of God, was the Friend of God while he had not sinned; and again his Service, while he stood in Obedience, was very pleasant and acceptable to God, because so long freely and sincerely he served God according to the Command and Rule written in his Heart.<sup>82</sup>

Furthermore Dickson teaches that this covenant "doth stand firm and strong against all Men by Nature for their condemnation, who are not reconciled to God."<sup>83</sup> And although it is abolished, as far as justification is concerned, for the one in Christ, "it remaineth still the Rule of a Man's walking, and it is impossible that a meer Man should be exeemed from the Authority of God over him, and from subjection due by Nature to his Creator;"<sup>84</sup> thus this covenant continues to lead the elect in the way of sanctification.<sup>85</sup>

The Covenant of Redemption is defined as a bargain made between the Father and the Son, designated as the Mediator, from before the creation of the world, that by the Son's Incarnation, obedience, and satisfaction, an elect people would be converted, saved, and sanctified. Dickson explains that "The Seller of the Elect is God; the Buyer,

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<sup>82</sup>Ibid., pp. 113-114; Corbett, p. 48.

<sup>83</sup>Ibid., p. 114.

<sup>84</sup>Ibid., p. 106.

<sup>85</sup>Dickson, *Truth's Victory*, p. 139; Corbett, p. 57.

is *God Incarnat*; the *Persons* bought, are the Church of the Elect; the Price, is the Blood of God, to wit, the Blood of Christ, who is God and Man in one Person."<sup>86</sup>

The Covenant of Grace and Reconciliation, made between God and believers through Christ,<sup>87</sup> is founded on the prior Covenant of Redemption between God and Christ.<sup>88</sup> The sum of this Covenant of Grace and Reconciliation is that "whosoever do acknowledge their Sin, and fly to Jesus Christ for Relief from Sin and Wrath, shall not perish, but have eternal life."<sup>89</sup> But this covenant is clearly expressed also in contractual terms--

The Covenant of Grace is a Contract between God and Men, procured by Christ upon These Terms, that whosoever in the sense of their own sinfulness shall receive Christ Jesus offered in the Gospel, for Righteousness and Life, shall have Him and all the Benefits purchased by Him, according to the Covenant of Redemption; and that God will be his God, and the God of his Children.<sup>90</sup>

Thus the condition of this covenant is the receiving of Christ by faith unto righteousness and life, offered in the Gospel, apart from the works of the Law.<sup>91</sup> The Mediator of this Covenant, through whom it is transacted, is Christ Jesus who gave Himself over to the Father, satisfying His Justice, that this covenant might be enacted between

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<sup>86</sup>Dickson, *T. S.*, pp. 35,38; Corbett, p. 44.

<sup>87</sup>Dickson, *T. S.*, p. 35.

<sup>88</sup>*Ibid.*, p. 127; Corbett, p. 44.

<sup>89</sup>Dickson, *T.S.*, p. 234.

<sup>90</sup>*Ibid.*, pp. 126-127; Corbett, p. 45.

<sup>91</sup>Dickson, *T. S.*, p. 126; Corbett, p. 44.

the Father and the elect.<sup>92</sup> Because the Covenant is obtained only by the blood of the Mediator it is also called a Testament and its benefits are distributed as He pleases following His death. Dickson, however, is careful to explain that this covenant is not made with a mere man, but with the Son of God who became incarnate in order to ~~die~~ and be raised again.<sup>93,94</sup>

### PREDESTINATION

In his teaching concerning predestination Dickson is true to the scholastic Calvinism of his time with its doctrine of a double predestination by God.<sup>95</sup> He insists that before the beginning of the world the elect were given

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<sup>92</sup>Dickson, *T. S.*, pp. 41,125.

<sup>93</sup>*Ibid.*, p. 189. Dickson adds (*Ibid.*, p. 192) that as to its external dispensation this Covenant is common to all that are externally called, that is, to all members of the visible Church.

<sup>94</sup>Concerning the relationship between the Old Testament and New Testament Dickson maintains that (1) "the promised Price of Redemption was of no less worth, to give Righteousness and Life eternal to Believers in the *Messiah* to come, than the Price now payed is now worth to give for it, Righteousness and life eternal, to these that believe in the *Messiah* now come, Jesus Christ incarnat," (2) the blessings of the Covenant were formally sealed unto believers by the appointed sacraments of circumcision and the paschal Lamb (*Ibid.*, p. 46), (3) circumcision was the seal of righteousness and justification by faith (*Ibid.*, p. 141), and (4) "albeit the Covenant of Grace in it self, be one and the same, from the first preaching of it in *Paradise*, unto the end of the World, because Christ the Saviour of His People, is one and the same, Yesterday and to Day, and for ever, and because the Faith of the Elect is of one Kind, and was and shall be to the World's end; yet the external out-letting and dispensation of the Covenant differeth, as it was propounded before Christ's Incarnation and after it: For, in *Paradise* this Covenant was set forth by way of Promise . . . (*Ibid.*, pp. 139-140).

<sup>95</sup>Corbett, pp. 56-57.

to the Son, the designated Mediator, who was to be incarnate and pay the price agreed upon, acting as the Advocate and Redeemer of those given Him by the Father.<sup>96</sup> Dickson asserts:

It is agreed between God and Christ, that the Elect shall be Converted invincibly and infallibly, and that saving Faith shall be bestowed on them, and that they shall persevere in the obedience of Faith so, as they shall not totally and finally fall away from God's Grace.<sup>97</sup>

Thus saving faith and perseverance, including Christ's special care, are bestowed only on the elect, who are given to Him, and granted the unique right of adoption.<sup>98</sup> But Dickson also maintains that God and Christ did not "bargain" for the redemption, conversion, and sanctification of all and every man to whom the Gospel was to be preached.<sup>99</sup> In fact, it is stated that "the Evangelist (John 12:37-40) teacheth us, that there is a Number, to whom God hath decreed not to give Grace to believe in Christ, albeit they shall hear him preached unto them."<sup>100</sup> Therefore, there is no "universal conditional Redemption, or any conditional Decree of God," for "it was not God's purpose to make the Offer of Grace upon condition of Believing in Christ, to all and Every Man . . . ."<sup>101</sup>

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<sup>96</sup>Dickson, *T. S.*, pp. 45,55.

<sup>97</sup>*Ibid.*, pp. 83-84.

<sup>98</sup>*Ibid.*, pp. 84,85,87.

<sup>99</sup>*Ibid.*, p. 89.

<sup>100</sup>*Ibid.*, p. 172.

<sup>101</sup>*Ibid.*, pp. 177-178. Concerning the reason men perish Dickson explains, "In them that Perish, the meritorious and culpable



Although the conversion and preservation of the Redeemed are--by the agreement between the Father and Christ--as firm and certain as the power, constancy, and obedience of Christ unto the Father,<sup>102</sup> the election of those given to Christ is hidden both from themselves and others "till they repent their Sins and flee to Christ, and bring forth some Evidences of their Election, in their obedience of Faith and begun Sanctification."<sup>103,104</sup> But because the elect are intermingled socially with the rest of the world, God has decreed that the offer of the Gospel should be made to all indifferently, though it is intended to bring about the conversion only of the Elect, by leading them to embrace Christ.<sup>105</sup> Dickson also teaches that since the particular reprobation of specific individuals is one of God's secrets--"not to be medled with"--"the Doctrine of Reprobation must not be determinatly applied to any particular Person, how wicked soever he shall

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Cause of their Perdition is in themselves; but in them that are Saved, no Cause is found at all, but the Cause is found in God's Grace allenerly" (Ibid., p. 204). Hence he seems to be hesitant to teach a strict double predestination with God creating some men solely for damnation.

<sup>102</sup>Ibid., p. 94.

<sup>103</sup>Ibid., p. 137.

<sup>104</sup>But Dickson adds, "It followeth, that some are in the Covenant absolutely, or without condition required of them for their part, whom God taketh in His own Hand absolutely, such as are Elect Infants, dying in their Infancy, for whom, that they might be delivered from original Sin, and deserved Wrath, Christ hath engaged and laid down His Life, and promised in the Covenant to be their God; whom therefore ere they die, He doth immediately quicken and sanctify, and translateth to Heaven after Death. . ." (Ibid., p. 139).

<sup>105</sup>Ibid., p. 179.

for the present appear."<sup>106</sup>

### SOTERIOLOGY

Those in Christ are not related to Christ by virtue of a common humanity, but only in a legal and judicial way.<sup>107</sup> One must be joined with Him because in Christ all the promises are Yea and Amen;<sup>108</sup> He is the end both of the Law and of every spiritual exercise.<sup>109</sup> Furthermore, Dickson insists that Christ "the Second Person of the God-head incarnate is made unto us, and judicially intimate from God to us, our *Sanctification*."<sup>110</sup> It is explained concerning the order decreed by God:

There is an Order also to be observed in the Application of the Graces offered in the Gospel; for, in the Evangel, First, Christ Himself is offered, as the only and sufficient Remedy against Sin and Misery; and Next, unto the Person that receiveth Christ heartily, all Christ's Benefits are promised to come to him by Christ, and are to be bound in and through Christ, such as are Justification, Adoption, the indwelling of the Holy Ghost, Love, Joy, Peace, Gentleness, Bounty, Fidelity, Meekness, Temperance, and other Christian Graces, *Galatians*. 5. 22. For no Man hath right unto Christ's Benefits, before he be a believer in Christ. But so soon as a Man, in the foresaid order is fled unto Christ, and hath laid hold on Him by Faith, straight way a Door and Entress is opened unto him unto the rich Treasure of Grace and Right is given to him unto all the Benefits of Christ . . . .<sup>111</sup>

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<sup>106</sup> Ibid., pp. 225-226. He explains, "As for the Reprobation of any Man, the Lord hath given no certain Mark as long as they live (except that malicious and wilful rejecting and opposing of known Christ Jesus) to the intent that none should dare to exclude either themselves or others from Repentance and hope of Mercy, so long as the day of God's long-suffering and patience doth last" (Ibid., p. 206). Dickson also counsels men not to underestimate the power of God in converting sinners, even at their dying moment (Ibid., pp. 351-352).

<sup>107</sup> Dickson, *Epistles*, (Romans 6:6), p. 14; Corbett, pp. 51-52.

<sup>108</sup> Dickson, *T. S.*, p. 217.

<sup>109</sup> Ibid., pp. 313-314.

<sup>110</sup> Ibid., pp. 335-336.

<sup>111</sup> Ibid., pp. 216-217.

For those outside of Christ the Mediator there is nothing but wrath,<sup>112</sup> condemnation, death, and torment.<sup>113</sup> Against them there is the curse of the Law,<sup>114</sup> with its Maledictions, and the threatenings of the Covenant of Works.<sup>115</sup>

In Dickson's concept of soteriology while the remission of sins is purchased by Christ through the Covenant or Redemption, the actual application is not given unto individual members of the elect until the time of their conversion.<sup>116</sup> There is then an order of nature, but not of time, in the divine operations and imparting of saving graces.<sup>117</sup> God's design is first to reveal the sin and misery of the creature, the death deserved by virtue of disobedience to the Law, and the satisfaction demanded by the divine Justice. Secondly God shows His grace, mercy, and power to the humbled creature, leading him to Christ Jesus for healing and restoration.<sup>118</sup>

In the whole of God's workings of regeneration He

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<sup>112</sup> Ibid., pp. 508,542.

<sup>113</sup> Ibid., pp. 248-249.

<sup>114</sup> Ibid., pp. 702-703.

<sup>115</sup> Ibid., p. 517. Dickson explains, "Because Christ, Who is altogether Lovely and Love it self, the very Son of the Fathers Love, is a jealous God, and cannot long endure not to be met with Love from them to whom He hath manifested His Love. Therefore He doth make hast to correct this slighting of His Love, and to manifest His Wrath against these that ly still well pleased with themselves under this Condition . . ." (Ibid., p. 542).

<sup>116</sup> Ibid., pp. 717-718.

<sup>117</sup> Ibid., p. 303.

<sup>118</sup> Ibid., pp. 405,683.

is to be given all the glory,<sup>119</sup> for the display of His free grace and power.<sup>120</sup> Reconciliation is ours by His free gift,<sup>121</sup> and "no meritorious nor impulsive Cause is found in the Persons Redeemed, for which the Punishment due to them should be transferred upon the Mediator Christ . . . ."<sup>122</sup> Dickson adds that "Election and Reprobation were not for the forseen Faith or Works of the Elect Redeemed, but of the meer Grace and Good-will of God, and all done for them and in them, contrair to their Deservings . . . ."<sup>123</sup> It is by God's grace that we are made to see our true condition<sup>124</sup> and are given faith and repentance by Christ, the Author and Finisher of our Faith.<sup>125</sup> Regeneration, which is one in effect with effectual calling, is an operation of God which precedes our faith or response to God's grace; it is thus defined as

the Work of God's invincible Power and meer Grace, wherein by His Spirit, accompanying His Word, He quickeneth a Redeemed Person lying Dead in his Sins, and reneweth him in his Mind, Will, and all the Powers of His Soul, convincing him savingly of Sin, Righteousness and Judgment, and making him heartily to embrace Christ and Salvation, and to Consecrat himself to the Service of God in Christ, all the days of his Life.<sup>126</sup>

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<sup>119</sup> Ibid., p. 18.

<sup>120</sup> Ibid., p. 20.

<sup>121</sup> Ibid., p. 41.

<sup>122</sup> Ibid., p. 88.

<sup>123</sup> Ibid., pp. 90, 94.

<sup>124</sup> Ibid., p. 333.

<sup>125</sup> Ibid., p. 316.

<sup>126</sup> Ibid., pp. 18, 303.

When the sinner is drawn by faith to Christ the Mediator, God incarnate, there is what Dickson refers to as "a matrimonial Contract made between God in Christ reconciled and the Believer," involving a judicial union between Christ and the believer whereby "the Believer is made to have a Right unto Christ's Person according to that of the Spouse . . . ." Also the believer is given a right unto Christ's purchase, His benefits, and communion with Him and His saints, as well as "the Earnest-penny of the Inheritance," followed by peace, joy, consolation, strength, and other gifts of Grace--even in a manner detectable by the sense.<sup>127</sup>

Dickson's view of justification, issuing from the legal framework of federalism, is essentially forensic with little being said concerning any real or substantial union with Christ; he states that

Christ the innocent Mediator, and pure from sin, by His consent and agreement with the Father in a judicial manner, is accounted guilty of our sin . . . that we believing in Christ may be made partakers of Christ's righteousness judicially by imputation . . . .<sup>128</sup>

Therefore, justification is judicial;<sup>129</sup> one in Christ is declared to be judicially free from condemnation.<sup>130</sup> It is Christ the Mediator who by faith justifies the ungodly,<sup>131</sup>

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<sup>127</sup> Ibid., pp. 405-406.

<sup>128</sup> Dickson, *Epistles*, (II Corinthians 5:21) p. 80; Corbett, p. 51.

<sup>129</sup> Corbett, p. 51.

<sup>130</sup> Dickson, *T. S.*, p. 699.

<sup>131</sup> Ibid., p. 494.

giving him the beginning of the possession of eternal life, although this judicial pronouncement may not always be perceived or comprehended as certainly as it should be on the part of the believer.<sup>132</sup> Dickson distinguishes, however, between justification actively taken as it proceeds from God and justification taken passively as it is terminated on the believer; he writes:

As Justification is taken passively, Four things may be distinguished in the Believer justified. The *First* is his actual receiving of Christ offered in the Gospel for a perfect Remedy of Sin and Misery. The *Second* is, the Lords judicial settling of the general Sentence of Absolution upon the Believer, as if He had spoken to him by Name . . . . The *Third* is, the Believers observing in a reflect act of his Conscience that he hath fled to Christ for absolution, and therefore justified indeed. The *Fourth* is, the feeling and observing of the Testimony of the holy Ghost bearing witness with his Spirit that he is a Child of God absolved from Sin and Wrath.<sup>133</sup>

Justification tends to be separated from sanctification in Dickson's framework, the latter being a continuing process or endeavour which depends upon the believer's sincerity and faithfulness.<sup>134</sup> While justification is a work of Christ imputed judicially to the believer, sanctification is both a work of response in and by the believer and a means of testing the validity of one's own election and justification. Dickson explains that

whom Christ has gripped to draw to salvation, that man will grip Christ to win to sanctification. Wouldst thou know if

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<sup>132</sup>Ibid., p. 703.

<sup>133</sup>Ibid., pp. 700-701.

<sup>134</sup>David Dickson, *A Brief Explication of the Psalms* (Glasgow: John Dow, 1834), Vol. I, p. 166; Corbett, p. 55.

Christ has gripped thee to salvation? Thou shalt know it by this--if thou be gripping Him for sanctification.<sup>135</sup>

And since the Law serves as a guide to the believer's process of sanctification,<sup>136,137</sup> there appears to be an increasingly legalistic interpretation of the Christian life. In fact, Dickson concludes the passage on sanctification by stating that "except a man study to outstrip the Pharisees and Scribes both in respect of imputed righteousness and inherent righteousness also, he shall not be saved."<sup>138</sup>

When the believer does fall into transgression and thus merits death and destruction, Christ remains as his Advocate and Intercessor who "holds off the Execution of deserved Wrath, and giveth to the Believer the Grace of renewed Repentance and Faith in Him, and so saveth the Believer . . . ."<sup>139</sup> Though the believer often falls short of the desired sanctification, Christ, who is made unto him for righteousness and sanctification, gives His Spirit who sanctifies His children more and more.<sup>140</sup>

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<sup>135</sup> David Dickson, *Select Practical Writings of David Dickson* (Vol. I) (Edinburgh: Free Church of Scotland, 1845), (concerning Philippians 3:11-12), p. 189; Corbett, p. 56.

<sup>136</sup> David Dickson, *A Brief Exposition of the Evangel of Jesus Christ According to Matthew* (3rd Ed.; London: Ralph Smith, 1651), p. 49 (Hereafter designated as *Matthew*); Corbett, p. 55.

<sup>137</sup> Dickson explains that Christ came only to abolish the cursing part of the Law, but to establish the obeying part (Dickson, *Select Practical Writings*, [concerning Isaiah 52:13-15] p. 119; Corbett, p. 58).

<sup>138</sup> Dickson, *Matthew*, p. 49; Corbett, p. 55.

<sup>139</sup> Dickson, *T. S.*, p. 720.

<sup>140</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 435-436.



Therefore there is a sense in which the believer is daily cleansed by Christ from uncleanness;<sup>141</sup> Dickson declares:

Wherefore, so oft as the Convert is displeased for any defect he findeth in his Devotion, let him . . . humble himself in the sense of his Imperfection, and betake himself so much the more to the Intercession of Christ, and lay hold more firmly upon the Satisfaction made by the Mediator, and draw by Faith Grace for Grace out of His Fulness, and let him in Faith and Sincerity worship God, and live holily in his Conversation and not be afraid that his Devotion shall be esteemed of God to be but Lip-labour.<sup>142</sup>

Because original sin remains within the believer to pollute the conscience and sometimes the outward man,<sup>143</sup> there is need for the believer's daily right to the remission of sins in Christ's satisfaction.<sup>144</sup> And Christ the infinitely wise Physician slowly--not all at once--begins to repair the Image of God within us and heal our sinful diseases, bestowing righteousness on us by degrees, and giving justification daily as a new gift issuing from Himself and His gracious goodness.<sup>145</sup> But a war remains within as the corrupt nature strives against the work of grace and the new creature, and the believer is called upon to mortify the flesh, yield himself to God, and to condemn the corruption of his own flesh, in that hope which comes

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<sup>141</sup> Ibid., p. 699.

<sup>142</sup> Ibid., pp. 653-654.

<sup>143</sup> Ibid., p. 716.

<sup>144</sup> Ibid., p. 718. Dickson explains in this regard, "For there is a two-fold Absolution of the Convert, one is in order to his Person, which Christ calleth *the washing of the whole Man*; the other is in order to his daily Imperfections and Blemishes of his Conversation, which Christ doth call *the washing of the feet*" (Ibid., pp. 698-699).

<sup>145</sup> Ibid., pp. 746-747.

from knowing that grace is made victorious in Christ.<sup>146</sup>

Though the Gospel requires that the one in Christ should aim at perfect obedience to all the commands of God, it does not reject a good work for "the Defects, Imperfections and Blemishes thereof, but accepteth and taketh in good part the first Fruits and Buds of new Obedience, and doth foster the tender and small Beginnings, that they may grow and increase."<sup>147</sup> And while the Gospel never teaches us to seek justification of our persons before God by our own works, but by faith in Christ, it does instruct us "to seek the Justification of our Faith before Men in our own and others' conscience, by the sincere endeavour of new obedience."<sup>148</sup>

#### HUMAN RESPONSE AND ASSURANCE

Perhaps the most distinguishing feature of Dickson's theology is his interest in the Christian's inner life and experience. His great concern was at looking to the problems or "diseases" of the conscience. For him the conscience is a means of judging both one's own faith and obedience and that of others. He asserts:

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<sup>146</sup> Ibid, pp. 683-684.

<sup>147</sup> Ibid., p. 315. Dickson writes in this connection that "the aiming at the perfect obedience of God's commands is both possible and profitable, and he who aimeth at Perfection of Obedience in this Life, shall attain it fully in the Life to come. It is one thing to *give perfect* Obedience unto the Law, for in many things we do sin all of us: another thing to *endeavour*, according to the measure of Grace given, to obey the Law perfectly" (Ibid., p. 643).

<sup>148</sup> Ibid., pp. 315-316. The fact that there is a struggle or conflict between the flesh and the Spirit is a cause of comfort for the believer. See Ibid., p. 512.

It hath pleased God, the sovereign Lord and Judge of all Men, in the Creation, to put in Man's Soul a natural Power or Faculty, whereby he might not only understand the revealed will of God . . . but also might judge of his own Faith and Obedience, whether performed, or not performed; yea, and might judge also of the Faith and Obedience of Others, in so far as Evidences may be had of their conformity unto, or disagreement from the revealed Rule of Faith and Maners. This power of the Soul of Man . . . we call it by the Name of *Conscience*.<sup>149</sup>

His subjective interest is also seen in his emphasis upon man's fulfilment of the Covenant of Grace---if man applies the sweet condition, he will obtain salvation.<sup>150,151</sup>

While he states that Christ leads the believer in his response, Dickon apparently sees no relationship between Christ's own self-sanctification of His humanity and the believer's sanctification.<sup>152</sup>

The order for the application of saving doctrines is declared to begin at the Law and the Covenant of Works with the yoke of nature and the wrath of God pronounced against sin. Only when this covenant is rightly applied to one's soul is he ready to run to Christ the Redeemer for refuge and to accept His offer, pronounced in the Gospel, of a new Covenant of Grace for the pardoning of sin, reconciling

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<sup>149</sup>Ibid., p. 6; Corbett, p. 41.

<sup>150</sup>Dickson, *Epistles*, (Romans 10:9) p. 26; Corbett, pp. 41-42.

<sup>151</sup>Concerning the relationship of the Holy Spirit to man's will it is maintained that "when the holy Spirit doth powerfully and effectually move and turn the *Will* of the Man to embrace the sweet and saving Offers of Christ's Grace in the Gospel, and maketh him deliberately choose this blessed Way of Salvation, and to renounce all confidence in his own, or any others worth or works, He doth not destroy, but perfect the liberty of the Will . . ." (Dickson, *T. S.*, p. 27).

<sup>152</sup>Corbett, p. 56.

of men with God, and for the salvation and sanctification of souls.<sup>153</sup> Dickson affirms that Christ calls not "Well-doers," but only sinners, who acknowledge their shame and renounce all confidence in their own works.<sup>154</sup> And "no man can in earnest embrace Christ as Physician, as Mediator and Saviour of his Soul, except he be sensible of his Disease, acknowledge his natural enmity against God, and his own lost Condition . . . ."<sup>155</sup> Therefore, Dickson summarizes:

Let the Afflicted Person, whatsoever Cross-dispensation he meet with, whatsoever Distemper of Soul he fall into, whatsoever Grace or measure he misseth or cometh short of, seek his Relief in God's order; that is to say, let him justify the Lord's Wisdom and Justice, humble himself under His mighty Hand, renew the Acts of Repentance in Humility, turn his Face Toward Christ by renewed Acts of Faith in him, lay hold on his Right unto Christ's Person and Benefits, that he may come to the sensible feeling of what he hath right unto by the Covenant of Grace.<sup>156</sup>

Dickson asserts that all the promises of the Gospel are made conditionally to mankind, for there is a condition required before any can enter into the Covenant of Grace and Reconciliation.<sup>157</sup> Sometimes the condition is spoken of singly--as faith in Christ.<sup>158</sup> At other times,

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<sup>153</sup>Dickson, *T. S.*, p. 213.

<sup>154</sup>*Ibid.*, p. 218. He argues that it is not God's intention to cause any man to despair, but to lead him to repentance and then to Himself (*Ibid.*, p. 262).

<sup>155</sup>*Ibid.*, p. 362.

<sup>156</sup>*Ibid.*, pp. 406-407. It is added, "The Covenant of Grace doth not exclude the most vile Sinners, if they acknowledge their Sinfulness, and do solemnly consent unto the Condition of the Covenant . . . ." (*Ibid.*, p. 149).

<sup>157</sup>*Ibid.*, pp. 331, 476.

<sup>158</sup>*Ibid.*, pp. 146, 331, 476.

however, this condition is subdivided into three parts:

(1) the acknowledgment of one's sins, (2) the consent to receive Christ and His benefits as He is holden forth in the Gospel, and (3) the taking on of "the Yoke of Christ, which He lays upon His confederate People."<sup>159</sup> When man comes to Christ in faith and repentance,<sup>160</sup> then he can apply to himself all the saving graces purchased by Christ in His Covenant.<sup>161</sup>

When confronted with the question of how one is to know whether or not he is of the elect, Dickson turns inward.<sup>162</sup> He insists:

Albeith the Lord keepeth up the Names of the Elect (except of some few) before their Conversion, yet, He giveth forth Marks and Evidences, whereby after their Conversion, they may be known both to themselves and others. This we collect from this, that He sets down infallible Marks of the Elect, who are to be God's covenanted People or Worshippers of God, that they do know God, and have His Law written in their Hearts and inward Parts.<sup>163</sup>

That man who daily flees unto Christ out of a sense of his own poverty and renounces his own works that he may be justified by the righteousness of Christ, is undoubtedly regenerate.<sup>164</sup> And he who has been humbled in the sense of his sin to receive Christ and has renounced his old life

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<sup>159</sup>Ibid., p. 144.

<sup>160</sup>Repentance, like faith, is a work of each individual man and is part of the response which comes from man's side as a condition of the Covenant of Grace (Corbett, p. 54).

<sup>161</sup>Dickson, *T. S.*, p. 213.

<sup>162</sup>Corbett, p. 58.

<sup>163</sup>Dickson, *T. S.*, pp. 205-206.

<sup>164</sup>Ibid., p. 34.

in order to live holily before God, is most certainly a new creature.<sup>165</sup> In Dickson's writings the afflicted is to be assured of his interest in the Covenant of Grace by virtue of his sense of need for Christ the Mediator, Redeemer, Surety, and Physician and his response of laying hold on Christ offered in the Gospel and consenting unto the Covenant.<sup>166</sup> Assurance, however, is not grounded purely on the objective fact of Christ's Person and the acceptance of His finished work by the Father; rather, man's response must be added to the Person and Work of the Mediator.

#### THE CHURCH AND THE SACRAMENTS

Those who have responded to the call of Christ and have been "consecrat to God and engaged by solemn Covenant to follow the course of Holiness" --hence they have been called out of the world unto Christ--form Christ's visible Church.<sup>167,168</sup> Concerning the Church it is stated:

For, the Kirk knoweth not, but God only knoweth who are His, II *Timothy* 2. 19. And therefore He hath ordained Means common to the Elect and Reprobate, to bring both unto the external embracing of His Covenant and continuing externally therein, and

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<sup>165</sup> Ibid., pp. 391,414-415.

<sup>166</sup> Ibid., pp. 621,634.

<sup>167</sup> Ibid., p. 150.

<sup>168</sup> Dickson criticizes the Pope and the Roman Catholic Church for (1) granting a remission of sins not yet committed for their own profit (Ibid., p. 717) and (2) seeking to be justified for their own works which are seen to be worth a great sum of money (supererogation), and making Christ's imputed righteousness to be "a putatitious or conceited Righteousness" (Ibid., p. 723).

He doth bestow Gifts both to the one sort and to the other, and  
 He worketh in both the one sort and the other according to His  
 own will . . . .<sup>169</sup>

The chief mean appointed of God is the preaching of the Gospel to all nations. Also there is the bringing in of all, and their children, who profess to accept the offers of grace by Christ Jesus to the bond of the covenant whereby they promise to submit themselves to the doctrine and government of Christ. Another mean is Church fellowship whereby believers are fed, governed, and led on in the obedience to all the commands of Christ. And finally there are the sacraments of baptism and the Lord's Supper which serve as seals of the Covenant of Grace and all its benefits.<sup>170</sup>

#### SUMMARY

Dickson's framework--one of the highpoints of seventeenth-century Federal Calvinism--is very forensic and substitutionary, stressing the passive obedience of Christ whereby divine justice is satisfied in the place of the elect. This sacrifice is necessitated by the human race's breaking of the Covenant of Works in Adam. Of His mercy God has enacted the Covenant of Redemption with Christ, promising the Son a redeemed soul, and draws those promised to the Covenant of Grace and Reconciliation where they are joined judicially and legally with Christ.

Thus the two great doctrines of the vicarious, representative humanity of Christ and union with Christ

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<sup>169</sup> Ibid., p. 131.

<sup>170</sup> Ibid., pp. 101-102, 129, 234.



do not undergird the system of Dickson, but give place to legal necessities and the triple-covenant structure. The important element appears to be the Covenant rather than Christ the eternal Mediator of God's one gracious, everlasting Covenant. Therefore it appears that the doctrine of the Mediator has been made dependent entirely on the doctrine of the covenant.

Hence the emphasis becomes more one of the drama of redemption and its appropriation by man, rather than the mystery of the Person and Work of Christ. And God's grace is not given freely and unconditionally, but only when man meets the condition of faith--which includes the confession of his sins, receiving Christ, and turning toward God in a new attitude of obedience. Consequently assurance must be based on the evidences of election rather than on the objective basis of the finished work of Christ for all mankind.

It appears then that this structure divides what Scripture unites. The covenant is divided, the eternal will of the Triune God is separated into justice and mercy, the work of Christ is isolated from the believer's redemption and sanctification, and Christ's perfect life of obedient sonship is divorced from the life of the Christian.

## CHAPTER VIII

### JAMES DURHAM

Standing alongside David Dickson in making what was to be the foremost articulation of the seventeenth-century Scottish Federal Calvinism was James Durham (1622-1658)<sup>1</sup> He stood in the same federal tradition as Dickson and was very influential in his preaching and writing.<sup>2</sup> And it is said that "Durham was held by his contemporaries in the very highest esteem as one of the most able and godly men of the time."<sup>3</sup>

#### THE MAN, HIS LIFE, AND CONTRIBUTIONS TO SCOTLAND

Although Durham is described as having been a theologian and a good man, remarkable for the mild elevation of his character, he is particularly known as the peace-maker of his time, a man who was able to retain the love and respect of both sides in the fiercest of controversies.<sup>4</sup> He is also described as "a man of intense strength of conviction and great gravity of character,"

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<sup>1</sup>William Garden Blaikie, "Durham, James," *The Dictionary of National Biography*, 1888, XVI, p. 255.

<sup>2</sup>Corbett, p. 73.

<sup>3</sup>Blaikie, p. 255.

<sup>4</sup>Walker, pp. 15,168; Macpherson, p. 48.

who was seldom known to smile. His studies, including both the Scriptures and the theological and ecclesiastical matters of his day, were pursued with the greatest diligence. It is added, "Of his devotion to the Christian ministry he gave decided proof, both by his laboriousness in the work and by retiring from the position and enjoyments of a country gentleman's life." His preaching so impressed Cromwell that he confessed Durham to be a very great man, capable of being chaplain to any prince in Europe.<sup>5</sup>

Durham was born in the parish of Monifieth and was educated first at St. Andrews University and later at Glasgow, where he studied divinity under David Dickson. In 1647 he was ordained the minister of a charge in Glasgow and in 1650 was appointed professor of divinity there in the university. These duties, however, were interrupted by the decision of the General Assembly that he should attend as chaplain to the king, and this responsibility was performed with such majesty and awe that reverence was inspired for him on the part of the court. After the discharging of this task he was called to the ministry again in Glasgow and inducted into the "Inner Kirk" in the Cathedral. However, because of his poor health and premature aging--partly the result of his extremely disciplined life of study--he died in 1658 at only thirty-six years of age.<sup>6</sup>

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<sup>5</sup>Blaikie, p. 255.

<sup>6</sup>Ibid.; Macpherson, p. 47; Macleod, p. 94.

He is known for his *Clavis Cantici*, long the key to the Song of Solomon for his devout countrymen, and his exposition of the ten commandments, containing a wealth of practical divinity.<sup>7</sup> He is also the author of a number of other works, which were published for the most part posthumously, such as sermons, commentaries on Revelation and Job, and other theological treatises dealing with matters such as scandal in the Church of Scotland, the blessedness of those dying in the Lord, Isaiah 53, and personal godliness and piety.<sup>8</sup>

#### THEOLOGY PROPER

Durham warns that those who teach purely the mercy of God, apart from the necessity of a satisfaction to offended Justice, make a great mistake.<sup>9</sup> He argues that there must be some other ground for the obtaining of pardon than God's mercy,<sup>10</sup> but this necessity is not absolute; it lies, rather, in the revelation of God that sin cannot be removed until the threatening be satisfied.<sup>11</sup> It is explained that

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<sup>7</sup> Macleod, p. 94.

<sup>8</sup> See Blaikie, pp. 255-256 for a complete listing.

<sup>9</sup> James Durham, *Christ Crucified: or, the Marrow of the Gospel, Evidently Holden Forth in LXXII Sermons, on the Whole 53. Chapter of Isaiah* (Edinburgh: Printed by the Heir of Andrew Anderson, 1683), (Isaiah 53:5) p. 150 (Hereafter designated as *Christ Crucified*) (This work contains many errors in pagination).

<sup>10</sup> Ibid., (Isaiah 53:10) p. 314.

<sup>11</sup> Ibid., (Isaiah 53:5) p. 158; (53:8) p. 228.

there must be a Satisfaction, because there is 1. The Justice of God that hath a claim by a standing law. 2. The Holiness of God that must be vindicate. And 3. The Faithfulness of God that must cause be performed and come to pass what it hath impledged it self for, as well in reference to the Threatenings as to the Promise . . . .

Therefore before our peace with God could be procured there had to be satisfaction given to Justice, and the Mediator had to come under discipline and chastisement.<sup>12</sup>

Because of this necessity it was agreed in the council of the Godhead that "the Son of God should become Man, and suffer, and condignly satisfie divine Justice by paying the price due by the Elect . . . ." <sup>13</sup> It was out of this "ingagement" that the Father sent the Son of His love, out of His bosom, to be incarnate and to perform the work of redemption. And it was from this transaction that the Mediator died to satisfy the Father's justice.<sup>14</sup> Thus it is of God's great mercy that He has given to sinners such a Mediator,<sup>15</sup> and He has come to take our debt upon Himself.<sup>16</sup> While there was nothing without Himself to move God to make such a gift to mankind, of His own good will He gave His Son for our redemption,<sup>17</sup> which involved bruising Him and bringing Him to grief.<sup>18</sup>

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<sup>12</sup> Ibid., (53:5) pp. 149-150.

<sup>13</sup> Ibid., (53:5) p. 153.

<sup>14</sup> Ibid., (53:12) p. 513.

<sup>15</sup> Ibid., (53:12) p. 552.

<sup>16</sup> Ibid., (53:4-5) p. 134.

<sup>17</sup> Ibid., (53:9-10) p. 302.

<sup>18</sup> Ibid., (53:10) p. 322.

God has made a way for sinners to be reconciled with Himself through the satisfaction of Christ the Mediator.<sup>19</sup> And He has delight in prosecuting the work of redemption because of the effects which follow, namely that a seed is purchased and given eternal life.<sup>20</sup> This salvation of lost sinners is the great design of God, and of the Mediator, as He causes them to be ravished with His grace and love.<sup>21</sup> The right view of grace, which is "a most real thing," therefore is seeing God the offended Party accepting the price, and Christ paying it."<sup>22</sup>

#### MAN AND SIN

By virtue of Adam's sin all are lost and are found to be under the dominion of sin.<sup>23</sup> The entire human race is in a terrible and dreadful condition, lying under the wrath of God--"lyable to the stroak of God's drawn Sword of Justice." All men are naturally under sin and obnoxious to the wrath and curse of God and cannot help themselves or improve their lot before God in any way.<sup>24</sup>

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<sup>19</sup>Ibid., (53:5) p. 168.

<sup>20</sup>Ibid., (53:9-10) p. 302.

<sup>21</sup>Ibid., (53:10) pp. 341-342. Durham explains, "When we speak of God's Design here, we mean not His last and ultimate Design, but His immediat Design in the Gospel, which is subservient to His last and ultimate Design; to wit, the Glorifying of His Grace and Justice, in giving the Mediator, to Satisfie for Dyvour Sinners, who are not able to Satisfie for themselves . . . ."

<sup>22</sup>Ibid., (52:4-5) p. 144.

<sup>23</sup>Ibid., (53:4-5) p. 135.

<sup>24</sup>Ibid., (53:10) pp. 307-308.

By virtue of the Fall man has lost the power to believe and to give God credit according to His revelation.<sup>25</sup> Durham asserts that there is nothing heavier than sin,<sup>26</sup> for even in Hell the Justice of God will never be fully satisfied with the sinner.<sup>27</sup> But God's election and covenant presuppose man's fall and hopeless condition under sin.<sup>28</sup> Furthermore, it is asserted that men can look rightly upon Christ and His sufferings only when they perceive some sense of their own sinful nature and disposition.<sup>29,30</sup>

#### THE PERSON OF CHRIST

Because of man's hopeless condition in himself it should be his "great study to know Christ, in His Person, Natures, Offices, and Covenant "as well as what He is to the individual and the person's duty to Him."<sup>31</sup> In his teaching on Christ Durham places great importance on the deity of Christ, which he understands to be the foundation of Christianity.<sup>32</sup> Christ is confessed to be God, the

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<sup>25</sup> Ibid., (53:1) pp. 95-96.

<sup>26</sup> Ibid., (53:11) p. 495.

<sup>27</sup> Ibid., (53:10) p. 308.

<sup>28</sup> Ibid., (53:5) p. 158.

<sup>29</sup> Ibid., (53:6) p. 173.

<sup>30</sup> Durham also teaches that (1) "the great Sin of a People that Hear the Gospel [is] not to believe and receive Jesus Christ when He is offered unto them" (Ibid., [53:1] p. 52) and (2) "the more glorious Christ be, the greater will be the sin of the Unbeliever . . . ." (Ibid., [53:8] p. 214).

<sup>31</sup> Ibid., (53:1) pp. 4-5.

<sup>32</sup> Ibid., (53:8) p. 216.



brightness of the Father's glory, and the express image of His person;<sup>33</sup> He is by His nature co-essential with the Father.<sup>34</sup> He also possesses divine properties such as omniscience, omnipotence, infinity, and adorability,<sup>35</sup> and is given the same adoration and worship as the Father and the Holy Ghost.<sup>36</sup>

But because fallen man had to bear the curse and die,<sup>37,38</sup> the Lord Jesus came to be of near kin to sinners and to redeem them.<sup>39</sup> Therefore the Mediator became a man, assuming a low and mean condition<sup>40</sup> as the Servant of the Father.<sup>41</sup> Durham declares:

In this also we see a main and most attractive Argument to draw sinners in to Christ for the actual application of his purchase: Our Lord Jesus is Man, our Brother, and made of a Woman, made under

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<sup>33</sup>James Durham, *Clavis Cantici; or, An Exposition of the Song of Solomon* (Aberdeen: Robert King, 1840), (Song of Solomon 5:11) p. 297. (Hereafter designated as *Clavis Cantici*).

<sup>34</sup>*Ibid.*, (Song of Solomon 3:11) p. 191.

<sup>35</sup>Durham, *Christ Crucified*, (53:12) p. 554.

<sup>36</sup>*Ibid.*, (53:12) p. 553.

<sup>37</sup>*Ibid.*, (53:2-3) p. 116.

<sup>38</sup>Durham writes that "beside the curocity of it, that *Antinomians* maintain, which is, that though man had never fallen, yet Christ would have become Man; For we see here that Christs becoming Man, and his being stricken, flowed from his being Surety for Elect sinners: and his being Surety flowed from the Covenant of Redemption concerning Elect sinners. To be wise without, or beside and above what is written in the Scripture, it's vanity, pride and folly" (*Ibid.*, [53:8] pp. 227-228).

<sup>39</sup>*Ibid.*, (53:2-3) p. 116.

<sup>40</sup>*Ibid.*, (53:2-3), pp. 116-117; Durham, *Clavis Cantici*, (4:9) p. 224.

<sup>41</sup>Durham, *Christ Crucified*, (53:11) p. 397.

the Law; O! this puts a sweetness and loveliness on the Mediator, to commend him to sinners, for the ingaging of their hearts to him.<sup>42</sup>

This truth of Christ's real humanity is referred to as a "Soul-saving truth"<sup>43</sup> and one which is fundamental to the Gospel.<sup>44</sup> However, in his teaching concerning Christ's humanity whereby He became our brother, Durham is careful to affirm that "He was made like unto us in all things except sin."<sup>45</sup> In Him there was no sinful defect or any natural corruption derived from Adam. It is added:

And hence we think it probable which some say, That as our Lord was not sick, so he was not capable of sickness, being so perfect in his constitution or complexion; which makes for the glory of Grace, and saith, That our Lord behoved to die a violent death, there being no principle in him tending to natural death, though notwithstanding he did most willingly to satisfie Justice for sinners.<sup>46</sup>

Thus Christ was a sinless Mediator, perfectly holy before both God and men and the spotless sacrifice which was acceptable before the Father.<sup>47</sup>

As both God and man Christ had two natures which consisted in only one person,<sup>48</sup> and is presently exalted in Heaven in the highest degree of glory in this same

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<sup>42</sup>Ibid., (53:2-3) p. 116.

<sup>43</sup>Ibid., (53:1) p. 4.

<sup>44</sup>Ibid., (53:2-3) p. 115.

<sup>45</sup>Ibid., (53:12) p. 576.

<sup>46</sup>Ibid., (53:2-3) p. 115.

<sup>47</sup>Ibid., (53:9) pp. 250-251.

<sup>48</sup>Ibid., (53:5) p. 150.

manner.<sup>49</sup> There is not and has not been a separation between His Godhead and His humanity or an interruption of this personal union.<sup>50</sup> But Durham maintains that although there be a union of the two natures in the Person of the Mediator, the properties of each nature are to be kept distinct, especially "in our worship-application to him."<sup>51</sup> And in the union of Christ's human nature to the Godhead there is the greatest conceivable exaltation of humanity--to a height which is unattainable to both men and angels.<sup>52,53</sup>

Because of the reality of Christ's two natures it can be said that He who is the son of Mary is also the eternal Son of God, the maker and creator of all things.<sup>54</sup> Though while a man His Godhead was veiled temporarily, yet He still remained the Son of God, whose glory is manifested at His exaltation as the veil is removed.<sup>55</sup> Therefore, the Mediator is at the same time inferior to the Father and worshipped as equal with the Father. But Durham carefully explains that though Christ is one object

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<sup>49</sup>Ibid., (53:8) p. 213.

<sup>50</sup>Ibid., (53:11) p. 356.

<sup>51</sup>Ibid., (53:12) p. 554.

<sup>52</sup>Ibid., (53:8) p. 213.

<sup>53</sup>Durham also insists in this regard that Christ "was not an ordinary, nay nor a meer man, but God-man . . ." (Ibid., [53:11] p. 211), and as the God-man (God and man in one Person) He satisfies divine Justice (Ibid., [53:5] p. 150).

<sup>54</sup>Ibid., (53:8) p. 216.

<sup>55</sup>Ibid., (53:12) p. 505.

of worship, it is "not the Person as Man, but as God," that is the proper object of worship.<sup>56</sup>

#### THE OFFICES OF CHRIST

As the God-man now exalted in Heaven, the Mediator<sup>57</sup> has been given a threefold office--Prophet, Priest, and King.<sup>58</sup> And "He hath a crown and glory in respect of the manifestation of his glory in the executing of his offices, when he makes his mediatory power and glory apparent in particular steps . . . ."<sup>59</sup> As the great Prophet He reveals the will of God, venting the knowledge of justification to man,<sup>60</sup> and by His Spirit enlightens the soul concerning salvation.<sup>61</sup>

Christ is also a powerful, rich, and stately King with all power in heaven and earth committed unto Him.<sup>62</sup> He is "God above all gods, King above all kings; this

Exaltation consists in his absolute Dominion and Kingly Power, which is more observably, directly, and plainly manifested in the dayes of the Gospel-administration then it was under the Law; So that he is clearly known in respect of his Kingly Office to be God in our nature, cloathed with our flesh, and to be *Immanuel*, God with us, and that this *Immanuel* hath all power in Heaven and Earth committed to him . . . .<sup>63</sup>

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<sup>56</sup> Ibid., (53:12) p. 554.

<sup>57</sup> Ibid., (53:12) pp. 527-528.

<sup>58</sup> Ibid., (53:1) pp. 1,4. The fact of these three offices is included as a "soul-saving truth."

<sup>59</sup> Durham, *Clavis Cantici*, (3:11) p. 192.

<sup>60</sup> Durham, *Christ Crucified*, (53:1) pp. 1,4.

<sup>61</sup> Ibid., (53:11) p. 451.

<sup>62</sup> Ibid., (3:7) p. 179; (3:8) p. 180.

<sup>63</sup> Ibid., (53:8) p. 213.

As Mediator He is a King both by donation and by conquest, having purchased His kingdom with His own blood.<sup>64</sup> He has a crown and glory in respect to the power and authority given Him to act as God's great deputy as He rules with a rod of iron upon the holy hill of Zion.<sup>65,66</sup> According to this office He subdues our lusts and corruptions, mortifying sin within us, guiding us in His way, and defeating the enemies of the soul as he divides the spoil with the strong.<sup>67</sup>

And as both God and man He officiates as the appointed Priest,<sup>68</sup> the great High Priest who differs from us in that He stands in no need to offer sacrifices for His own sins.<sup>69</sup> Durham proclaims to his listeners, "And therefore look upon Christ's suffering, and upon his innocency who suffered, and ye will find that ye have a suitable High Priest and atonement made for you . . . ."<sup>70</sup> This priestly work of Christ involves first His offering of a sacrifice upon the earth,<sup>71</sup> and the sacrifice is

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<sup>64</sup>Durham, *Clavis Cantici*, (1:9) p. 86.

<sup>65</sup>*Ibid.*, (3:11) pp. 191-192.

<sup>66</sup>Durham asserts, "It is true that as God he hath an absolutely Sovereign and independent Kingdom, yet as Mediator God-man, he hath a dispensatory Kingdom next unto the Father in glory" (Durham, *Christ Crucified*, [53:8] p. 213).

<sup>67</sup>*Ibid.*, (53:1) pp. 1-4; (53:11) p. 451.

<sup>68</sup>*Ibid.*, (53:10) p. 321.

<sup>69</sup>*Ibid.*, (53:11) p. 405. This quality of sinlessness was a special qualification of Christ for His priesthood. *Ibid.*, (53:9) p. 254.

<sup>70</sup>*Ibid.*, (53:9) p. 251.

<sup>71</sup>*Ibid.*, (53:9-10) pp. 305.

Himself--He is the Priest and the offering.<sup>72</sup> He made Himself an offering for sin<sup>73</sup> satisfying Justice,<sup>74</sup> for it was decreed that the Mediator must die.<sup>75</sup> Durham further observes concerning Christ:

1. He was the *Sacrifice*, in respect of His Humane Nature, which we are not so to look upon, as Abstracting, and Dividing it from His Divine Nature; For though He suffered in the Flesh, yet it was the same Person, that was God that suffered.

2, He was the *Altar*, by which His Sacrifice received a speciall Efficacy, Vertue, Value, and Commendation . . . So Christ Jesus, according to His God-head, was the Altar, which did put an special excellency on His<sup>76</sup> Sufferings, and made them to be of such Worth and Value . . . .

Secondly, the priestly office of Christ involves His heavenly intercession for us.<sup>77</sup> It behoved Him to be an intercessor because (1) it was suitable to the glory of God that the great Lord Deputy appointed for the gathering in of the elect sinners should be furnished with the priestly office, (2) it is fitting for Christ to remain a priest for ever, and (3) it gives believers consolation to know He is making intercession for them.<sup>78</sup> It is by His intercession that the benefits of His death are made forthcoming for those for whom He died<sup>79</sup>--"the Mediator having made his Testament

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<sup>72</sup>Ibid., (53:5) p. 162; (53:10) p. 321.

<sup>73</sup>Ibid., (53:11) p. 451.

<sup>74</sup>Ibid., (53:1) pp. 1, 4.

<sup>75</sup>Ibid., (53:12) p. 504.

<sup>76</sup>Ibid., (53:10) p. 321.

<sup>77</sup>Ibid., (53:9-10) p. 305; (53:11) p. 451; (53:12) p. 521; (53:17) p. 524.

<sup>78</sup>Ibid., (53:12) p. 521.

<sup>79</sup>Ibid., (53:12) p. 504.

and confirmed it by his death, is looking well that his death, and the benefits purchased to Elect Sinners thereby, may be made effectual; and is as it were lying as Agent, and Advocate at Court to procure and bring about this business . . . ." <sup>80</sup> This priestly intercession is performed by the Mediator as God and man in one person as He enters the most holy place in our nature and name to appear before God for us, having satisfied Justice and vanquished death. <sup>81,82</sup> And His intercession, especially as performed according to His humanity, brings great comfort to the believer, seeing Christ is touched with our infirmities and temptations and has a man's heart to befriend us and to understand our "hard exercises." <sup>83</sup> Durham declares:

And this is a solid ground of consolation to a poor believing Sinner, that he hath Christ in his own nature in heaven, interceding that what he performed before by vertue of his Office and the efficacy of his Sacrifice, to be offered, when he should be incarnat . . . . <sup>84</sup>

Therefore we are to "lay weight" upon His intercession for access and acceptance of our persons and services that through Him we might be made acceptable before the Father. <sup>85</sup>

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<sup>80</sup> Ibid., (53:12) p. 521.

<sup>81</sup> Ibid., (53:12) pp. 521-522.

<sup>82</sup> This intercession of Christ is clearly limited, according to Durham, to the elect only, those for whom Christ died. There is no conditional intercession seen for all men. Ibid., (53:4-5) p. 136; (53:12) pp. 521-522.

<sup>83</sup> Ibid., (53:11) pp. 364-365.

<sup>84</sup> Ibid., (53:12) p. 526.

<sup>85</sup> Ibid., (53:12) p. 546.



THE WORK OF CHRIST

Christ's mediatorial work is occasionally described in representative terms; He is said to have entered into heaven victoriously in our name to appear as a public person, the head of the elect.<sup>86</sup> But Durham's primary concern is with the substitutionary aspect of Christ's work. He declares that Christ has undertaken to become the Cautioner in our place,<sup>87</sup> and that He has been reckoned the sinner and substitute in the place of sinners, satisfying both for original and actual sin, so that "Christ's satisfaction is as real and effectual as to the Believer, as if he had satisfied himself, because his Cautioner hath satisfied for him."<sup>88</sup> Therefore Christ has really and actually borne our sorrows and griefs, removing our debt by the undergoing of the punishment due to sin,<sup>89</sup> even the equivalent of the wrath of God which the elect should have suffered eternally in Hell.<sup>90</sup> And "the Believers Faith gets a sight of Christ satisfying as if he saw his own debt satisfied by himself."<sup>91</sup>

In his treatment of the work of Christ Durham appears to give no consideration to His active obedience,<sup>92</sup>

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<sup>86</sup> Ibid., (53:12) p. 522.

<sup>87</sup> Ibid., (53:5) p. 150.

<sup>88</sup> Ibid., (53:5) pp. 161-162.

<sup>89</sup> Ibid., (53:4-5) p. 131.

<sup>90</sup> Ibid., (53:11) p. 357.

<sup>91</sup> Ibid., (53:4-5) p. 144.

<sup>92</sup> Durham does state that Christ (1) was "infinitely happy, and

and generally interprets the atonement in commercial terms arising out of the Covenant of Redemption.<sup>93</sup> The ground of the believer's consolation is said to lie in the fact that Christ has paid his debt and procured a discharge from the believer's obligation to God under the Covenant of Works.<sup>94</sup> It is stated that the justice of God's Covenant required that the Son become man, assume the curse, and die upon the cross.<sup>95</sup> Therefore, in commercial language, Durham declares:

Is not this then a good Bargain, when we have a willing Mediator and Merchant, content to give the Price and Satisfaction, and a gracious and willing God, content to accept of this Satisfaction, and both of them content to make Application of it to us freely.  
 . . .<sup>96</sup>

Christ's sufferings are described as having been most real,<sup>97</sup> His death despicable,<sup>98</sup> and the price He paid to Justice dear.<sup>99</sup> Though sinless He suffered as an

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fully Satisfied in the enjoymment of His own All-sufficient Self" (Ibid., [53:11] , p. 390), (2) He was "most Trusty and Faithful" in performing the office and work of mediation and Redemption, and (3) we have "an able Mediator, a good Shepherd, a Wise, Prudent, Tender One, and Faithfull; and indeed it would well become us to wonder more, that the Lord, in the way of His Grace hath thus condescended . . ." (Ibid., [53:11] pp. 398-399).

<sup>93</sup>Corbett, p. 74.

<sup>94</sup>James Durham, *The Blessedness of the Death of Those That Die in the Lord* (Glasgow: John Hall, 1754), p. 153 (Hereafter designated as *Blessedness of Death*); Corbett, p. 74.

<sup>95</sup>Durham, *Christ Crucified*, (53:5) p. 159.

<sup>96</sup>Ibid., (53:11) p. 364.

<sup>97</sup>Ibid., (53:8) p. 219.

<sup>98</sup>Ibid., (53:12) p. 518.

<sup>99</sup>Ibid., (53:5) p. 151.

offering for the sins of others,<sup>100</sup> bearing grief and sorrows voluntarily for our sake,<sup>101</sup> and meeting both death and the curse, which included being hidden from the Father's face.<sup>102</sup> In His sacrificial death He was made sin, that is, a sin-offering,<sup>103</sup> which serves as the great propitiatory sacrifice for sin.<sup>104</sup> And He sustained in Himself the punishment demanded by the wrath and justice of God against sin and fully satisfied all their requirements.<sup>105</sup> In this suffering both natures are essential,

for if we know Him not to be Man; we cannot understand, how Divine Justice is Satisfied; and if we know Him not to be God, we cannot understand how the Humane Nature can be sustained, and supported and carried through in Satisfying the Justice of God . . . .<sup>106</sup>

Thus both His soul and body were "straitned and stressed,"<sup>107</sup> and He suffered before men as a sinner, but before God as an offering for sin.<sup>108,109</sup> It is also declared that at Christ's exaltation His human nature did not lose its own distinct properties, though it was greatly exalted in

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<sup>100</sup>Ibid., (53:9-10) p. 305.

<sup>101</sup>Ibid., (53:2-3) p. 115.

<sup>102</sup>Ibid., (53:4-5) p. 133.

<sup>103</sup>Ibid., (53:11) p. 444.

<sup>104</sup>Ibid., (53:10) p. 320.

<sup>105</sup>Ibid., (53:2-3) p. 119; (53:4-5) p. 133; (53:5) pp. 151, 159; (53:9-10) p. 305.

<sup>106</sup>Ibid., (53:11) p. 451.

<sup>107</sup>Ibid., (53:10) p. 320.

<sup>108</sup>Ibid., (53:9-10) p. 297.

<sup>109</sup>Durham explains that though Christ's soul was separated from His body, the union between them still continues (Ibid., [53:8] p. 219).

glory.<sup>110</sup> Therefore the Mediator, though glorified in Heaven, still has a human heart and affections so that He manifests a kind sympathy with His people in every aspect of their lives.<sup>111</sup>

Christ's sufferings were acceptable before God because the person that suffered was God Himself.<sup>112</sup> Therefore, the native worth and intrinsic value in Christ's satisfaction is in the fact that the blood shed was the blood of God, and because there cannot be any bounding or limiting of His Person, there can be no limit on the worth or value of His great sacrifice.<sup>113</sup> Durham teaches that the fact that the Mediator willingly gave Himself and His own life,<sup>114</sup> assuming the burden of sin and death deserved by His own,<sup>115</sup> shows His lovely and excellent condescension,<sup>116</sup> and the bottomlessness of His love.<sup>117</sup> He asks:

Can there be a greater proof of our Lord Jesus His Love to Sinners than this? That when they were considered with all their Debt lying on their heads, He undertook this Soul-travel for them, to procure them Salvation from Wrath and Justice . . . .<sup>118</sup>

Because of His immeasurable love Christ was reckoned

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<sup>110</sup>Ibid., (53:8) p. 213.

<sup>111</sup>Ibid., (53:11) p. 384.

<sup>112</sup>Ibid., (53:10) p. 321.

<sup>113</sup>Ibid., (53:11) pp. 435-436.

<sup>114</sup>Ibid., (53:9-10) p. 302.

<sup>115</sup>Ibid., (53:11) p. 497.

<sup>116</sup>Durham, *Clavis Cantici*, (1:12) p. 113.

<sup>117</sup>Durham, *Christ Crucified*, (53:12) p. 518.

<sup>118</sup>Ibid., (53:11) p. 363.

to be the sinner, our sins were imputed to Him, and He was dealt with as a sinner.<sup>119</sup> Though He was not a sinner formally, being free from sin in His holy nature, He assumed the punishment deserved by our iniquities.<sup>120</sup> He was numbered legally with transgressors,<sup>121</sup> being legally made liable to their debt,<sup>122</sup> and stood as a legal person in our place, under our curse and guilt.<sup>123</sup> Therefore, the great benefit which comes by His death is justification, or the absolving of sinners from the guilt of sin and curse of God.<sup>124</sup> Because He suffered for us, we are made to partake of His righteousness, so that before the Law it is as though we had never sinned. Durham insists:

. . . That though Elect sinners be as well sinners by nature, and as gross sinners as others, yet by vertue of this Covenant, and upon condition of their accepting of it, they may obtain, and do actually obtain peace with God, pardon and healing, as if they had never sinned, or as if they had satisfied the Justice of God themselves . . . .<sup>125</sup>

In the death of the Mediator there is a satisfaction sufficient for the redemption of all those given to Christ by the Father.<sup>126</sup> He proved by His death that He is an

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<sup>119</sup>Ibid., (53:4-5) p. 130; (53:11) p. 144.

<sup>120</sup>Ibid., (53:11) pp. 444, 494.

<sup>121</sup>Ibid., (53:12) p. 503.

<sup>122</sup>Ibid., (53:5) p. 162.

<sup>123</sup>Ibid., (53:11) p. 444.

<sup>124</sup>Ibid., (53:11) p. 431.

<sup>125</sup>Ibid., (53:5) pp. 161-162.

<sup>126</sup>Ibid., (53:5) pp. 165-166.

able Saviour who has given an inestimable price for our ransom,<sup>127</sup> as well as peace with both our consciences and with God, and all good things which are meant for our welfare.<sup>128</sup> From His bearing of our transgressions on the cross there proceeds the faith of the believer, as an effect of His Death. Thus we have great comfort knowing that Christ will most certainly make out the benefits of His purchase to us, including that faith which is necessary to enter into His kingdom.<sup>129</sup> Indeed the end of Christ's transaction--to have a seed--cannot fail,<sup>130</sup> for "though it be grace to pardon sin as to us, yet it is Justice in God to give Christ the satisfaction for the travel of his Soul, as well as he gave God satisfaction to his Justice."<sup>131</sup> And as Christ was delighted at one time with the forethought that sinners would be called to salvation through His sufferings,<sup>132</sup> He is now in heaven seeking that men may be glorified with Him,<sup>133</sup> and longing to bestow the fruits of His purchase of reconciliation<sup>134</sup> and to communicate freely that which He has bought so very dearly.<sup>135</sup>

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<sup>127</sup> Ibid., (53:9-10) p. 302.

<sup>128</sup> Ibid., (53:5) p. 152.

<sup>129</sup> Ibid., (53:11) p. 500.

<sup>130</sup> Ibid., (53:10) p. 348.

<sup>131</sup> Ibid., (53:5) p. 163.

<sup>132</sup> Ibid., (53:11) pp. 384, 390.

<sup>133</sup> Ibid., (53:12) p. 523.

<sup>134</sup> Ibid., (53:11) p. 500.

<sup>135</sup> Ibid., (53:11) pp. 435-436.

Although Durham marvels at the greatness of the death of Christ and all the glorious benefits which issue from His finished work, he consistently restricts the scope of this death so as to include only the elect.<sup>136</sup> As God and man in one Person he bore what the elect should have endured for their sins;<sup>137</sup> Durham states adamantly:

Hence we gather this, that these whose iniquities Christ bare, are Christs seed, and for these he purposely laid down his life, as these whom he expected should be saved for satisfying of him for the travel of his soul, and for no more, and these cannot certainly be all the World . . . .<sup>138,139</sup>

Furthermore, His death and sufferings were not designed merely to make Justification possible to those chosen beforehand, but that they might be actually and absolutely justified.<sup>140</sup> Hence, "all that are Believers cannot but

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<sup>136</sup> He declares that (1) the fruits of Christ's death belong only to God's people, who are included in the Covenant of Redemption (Walker, p. 50), (2) Christ is the Shepherd and Bishop of the elect (Durham, *Clavis Cantici*, [8:11] p. 442), (3) Christ really and actually bore the sorrows deserved by the sins of the Elect (Durham, *Christ Crucified*, [53:4-5] p. 132), (3) Christ satisfied the Justice of God for all those appointed to be given to Christ (Ibid., [53:4-5] p. 135), (4) in Christ divine Justice is as fully satisfied as if all the Elect had suffered eternally (Ibid., [53:5] p. 151), (5) there is a title and right in justice for the elect when they come to Christ that His satisfaction will stand for them, and in their place (Ibid., [53:5] p. 160), (6) Christ suffered, bearing the sins of the elect (Ibid., [53:5] p. 162; [53:6] p. 172), and (7) "Christ's purpose is to be bounded and confined to the Elect only" (Ibid., [53:8] p. 241).

<sup>137</sup> Ibid., (53:4-5) pp. 132-133.

<sup>138</sup> Ibid., (53:4-5) p. 136.

<sup>139</sup> Durham also maintains that (1) "though Christ hath not died for all, yet all that flee unto him by Faith shall be partakers of his death . . ." (Ibid., [53:8] p. 241) and (2) "although Christ hath born the iniquities of *many*, only that is of the Elect, and hath Satisfied, and Suffered for them, yet not for all, but for the *many*, who in due time shall through His knowledge, that is through Faith in Him, be Justified" (Ibid., [53:11] p. 499).

<sup>140</sup> Ibid., (53:11) p. 434.



be Redeemed and Justified, because He hath born their iniquities, who by Faith betake themselves to Him."<sup>141,142</sup> Because Christ has died only for the Elect, Durham feels that logically there must be many for whom He intentionally did not undertake.<sup>143</sup> And he further argues that the doctrine of universal redemption, positing the death of Christ for all men, robs men of comfort and consolation, in that all for whom Christ died will not be saved.<sup>144</sup>

#### THE COVENANT CONCEPT

In the unfolding of his theological framework the concept of the covenant is most important for Durham. Although he insists that God has made two covenants with man, a Covenant of Works "for perfectly righteous folks, by which Covenant no sinner was ever able to come to life," and a Covenant of Grace "wherein Christ is made sin for us,

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<sup>141</sup>Ibid., (53:11) p. 500.

<sup>142</sup>Durham strongly reacts against the teaching that Christ has died conditionally for all hearers of the Gospel, to whom He is conditionally offered (Ibid., [53:8] pp. 240-241.

<sup>143</sup>He states that (1) Christ never bore the sins of those who were not to be justified, (2) the Scripture teaches not that Christ died for all that were dead, but that all for whom He died were dead (Ibid., [53:4-5] p. 136), (3) Christ did not die for those who are left to pay their own debt in Hell (Ibid., [53:11] p. 499), (4) there is a world of reprobates for whom Christ never died and whom He never loved with His peculiar love, (5) there are many for whom He never intended the benefits of His death, (6) it is absurd to think all men share equally in the death of Christ (Ibid., [53:8] pp. 237-238), and (7) though the bodies of the reprobate will be raised, it is not by virtue of their union with Christ and His victory over death in their stead (Ibid., [53:9] p. 247.

<sup>144</sup>Ibid., (53:11) p. 500.

and as many as flee by Faith unto him, are made the righteousness of God through him,"<sup>145,146</sup> he actually teaches the existence of three covenants because the Covenant of Grace is subdivided into the covenant between the Father and Christ and the covenant between God and man.<sup>147,148</sup>

Because of the failure of man in the Covenant of Works, which respects inherent righteousness as its condition<sup>149</sup> and wars against all men unto condemnation in their natural estate,<sup>150</sup> God has enacted the Covenant of Redemption between Himself and His Son. The covenant is described as "a great bargain,"<sup>151</sup> and as a "contract betwixt God and the Mediator,"<sup>152</sup> existing with just and legal terms between the two parties.<sup>153,154</sup> The Father promises the

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<sup>145</sup>Ibid., (53:5-6) pp. 171-172.

<sup>146</sup>Durham explains that "God made but two Covenants for men to attain Life by, one of *Works*, which is now impossible, The other of *Grace* by which only it is possible to attain Justification and Life." And he condemns those who make a third covenant, a contrivance "by a mixture party of some Works in us, and partly of some Grace in Christ, to make up what is inlacking in our Works . . ." (Ibid., [53:11] p. 433).

<sup>147</sup>Faris, p. 181.

<sup>148</sup>Concerning the essential nature of the Covenant of Redemption it is stated (1) in it shines the wonderful grace and wisdom of God, (2) the Covenant is Christ's workmanship, and He is its very sum and substance, and (3) the main ingredient in this covenant is love, which is made conspicuous and glorious therein (Durham, *Clavis Cantici*, [3:10] p. 189).

<sup>149</sup>Durham, *Christ Crucified*, (53:11) p. 444.

<sup>150</sup>Ibid., (53:11) p. 415.

<sup>151</sup>Ibid., (53:12) p. 510.

<sup>152</sup>Ibid., (53:12) p. 505.

<sup>153</sup>Ibid., (53:5) p. 160.

<sup>154</sup>Concerning the parties and structure of this covenant

Son a redeemed seed if He will lay down His life and suffer what those chosen deserved<sup>155</sup> as the price of their redemption.<sup>156</sup> Durham elaborates on the contractual elements of this covenant:

The Father makes the offer on the terms of a satisfaction to Justice, the Son as Mediator accepts the offer, and undertakes for the Elect, here am I to do thy will on the same terms that the offer is made; and the Father accepts of the Sons engagement, according to that word . . . he offers himself Surety for Sinners, and the Father is content to accept of him as their Surety . . . .<sup>157</sup>

Thus the promise is made to the Mediator, God-man, who performs everything required for the salvation of the Elect,<sup>158</sup> losing none of those given Him by the Father.<sup>159</sup> And because God is unchangeable and faithful to His word, all His promises made to the Mediator are certain and will actually be performed.<sup>160</sup> Durham further asserts:

For as the Mediator hath performed his part according to his engagement; so it is impossible but God must perform his, and must accept of the satisfaction in name of the Elect, and upon their believing justifie them . . . .<sup>161</sup>

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Durham writes, "God the Father, Son, and Holy Spirit, are the Party wronged by Sin; Jesus Christ considered personally and as Mediator, is the Party undertaking: The terms are, that he shall suffer and satisfie Justice for us, and that we shall go free; that his paying shall be for our freedom, that the Debt which he pays for us shall not be exacted of us our selves . . ." (Ibid., [53:5] p. 151). See also Ibid., (53: 4-5) p. 128 and (53:5) p. 170.

<sup>155</sup> Ibid., (53:10) p. 344.

<sup>156</sup> Ibid., (53:8) p. 235.

<sup>157</sup> Ibid., (53:5) p. 158.

<sup>158</sup> Ibid., (53:12), p. 511.

<sup>159</sup> Ibid., (53:1) p. 100.

<sup>160</sup> Ibid., (53:12) pp. 510-511.

<sup>161</sup> Ibid., (53:5) p. 162. See also Ibid., (53:11) p. 375.

Issuing from this Covenant of Redemption is the covenant between God and man, with Christ as the head of the confederate party.<sup>162</sup> Through this covenant the fulness which is in Christ the Mediator is made forthcoming to believers in Him, as by this transaction His death and suffering are attributed to guilty sinners.<sup>163</sup> By His purchase men are admitted to and carried into the covenant,<sup>164</sup> given freely what He procured through satisfaction to Justice.<sup>165</sup> Because this covenant has been made firm and sure through the death of the Mediator,<sup>166</sup> there is pardon,<sup>167</sup> justification, and peace with God for sinful men, offered only upon the condition of faith, which joins one with Christ<sup>168</sup> and causes him to take hold of His righteousness.<sup>169,170</sup>

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<sup>162</sup>Ibid., (53:11) p. 397.

<sup>163</sup>Ibid., (53:8) pp. 46-47.

<sup>164</sup>Durham, *Clavis Cantici*, (3:10) p. 186.

<sup>165</sup>Durham, *Christ Crucified*, (53:5) p. 160.

<sup>166</sup>Ibid., (53:8) pp. 46-47.

<sup>167</sup>Ibid., (53:5) p. 158.

<sup>168</sup>Ibid., (53:11) p. 451.

<sup>169</sup>Ibid., (53:11) p. 444.

<sup>170</sup>Concerning the relation between the Old Testament and the New Testament Durham teaches that (1) there is the same Christ, the same Word, the same Covenant, the same obligation to believe proposed to believers from the beginning of the world (Ibid., [53:1] p. 11), (2) God "put seals to the Covenant, Circumcision and the Passover in the Old, and Baptism and the Lord's Supper in the New Testament . . ." (Ibid., [53:1] p. 15), (3) Christ was the Lamb slain from the beginning of the world, both before and after His Incarnation (Ibid., [53:8] p. 228), (4) it was by the blood of Christ that the Fathers

PREDESTINATION

Along with the other Federal Calvinists Durham operates with a rather rigid view of the doctrine of predestination. He teaches that "election is a Fountaine-grace, and Christ's death is not the cause of Election, though it be the cause of all the benefits that follow upon it." However, this election in no way applies to all men, for only some are given to the Mediator by the Father.<sup>171</sup> It is the purpose of God to glorify His grace in accomplishing the salvation of the elect,<sup>172</sup> and therefore both His grace and the promises in the Covenant of Redemption extend only to a certain select number of man-

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under the Law had their sin pardoned (Ibid., [53:9-10] pp. 304-305), (5) "In respect of his Office, being designed to be Intercessor; For being designed to be Priest, and being Mediator before his Incarnation, he behaved to be Intercessor also: For that way he did Mediat, and the benefits that came to Sinners from the beginning, were the effects of his Intercession: therefore I *Timothy* 2. 5. It's said, *There is one God, and one Mediator between God and man, the man Christ Jesus*, and there was never another real Mediator, however *Moses* might be called a typical one (Ibid., [53:12] pp. 525-526), (6) Christ was the Intercessor before His Incarnation in that the virtue of His sacrifice to be offered extended to the O. T. saints, (7) Christ was the Intercessor before His Incarnation as to the effects of His ministry, in that men had communion with God and access into His Presence--though with a lesser degree of boldness--through Him, (8) before His Incarnation the benefits of Christ's covenant were also made available to believers, and (9) "though our Lord Jesus was Mediator both before his Incarnation, and now, yet since his ascension, he hath a new way of Mediation, and Intercession, that exceedingly abounds to the strengthening of the consolation of his People: therefore it's ordinarily subjoyned to his ascension, because of his new manner of discharging that Office . . . ." (Ibid.).

<sup>171</sup> Ibid., (53:8) pp. 222-223.

<sup>172</sup> Ibid., (53:5) p. 158.

kind chosen before the creation of the world.<sup>173</sup> And "God takes away the stubbornesse, and frowardness that is in the Elect, and makes them plyable to embrace, and receive, and give up themselves to Christ."<sup>174</sup>

The doctrine that the work of Christ extends only to the elect is called a "march-stone," which, when removed, leaves a universal grace that is in effect no grace at all.<sup>175</sup> Durham maintains that a universal grace is a common thing with no effectual power since its application is left to the free will of the creature. And universal grace is said also to breed in men "a fearlessness of Hell and God's Wrath" and to diminish men's thankfulness, "for when a mercy is judged to be common, who will praise for it as he would do if it were special and peculiar."<sup>176</sup>

#### SOTERIOLOGY

The salvation which God has provided for the elect is one which is embodied in Christ. He is the City of Refuge,<sup>177</sup> who is made unto us "*wisdom*, to be our Guide, and Teacher, *righteousness*, to be our Justifier, and the meritorious Cause of it, *Sanctification*, To be the Worker

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<sup>173</sup> Ibid., (53:8) p. 223; (53:8) p. 235.

<sup>174</sup> Ibid., (53:12) p. 511.

<sup>175</sup> Ibid., (53:8) pp. 234-235. Durham explains, "I do not mean of grace taken in a large sense, for so all men as they are partakers of any mercy, or of common favours, may be said to have grace extended to them; but I mean God's special grace, favour and good will which is extended only to the Elect for whose sins Christ suffered . . . ."

<sup>176</sup> Ibid., (53:8) pp. 238-239.

<sup>177</sup> Ibid., (53:5) p. 167.

and the Procurer of it; and in a Word, *compleat Redemption* . . . ."<sup>178</sup> In fact, "there is nothing that a Soul needs or can desire, but it is to be had in him,"<sup>179</sup> and the covenant-claim to Him is the most solid ground upon which believers can walk.<sup>180</sup> Because of this fulness and sufficiency of Christ all the excellencies in the believer derive from his mutual union and communion with Christ, the Head and His mystical body.<sup>181</sup> All the wonderful ointments and treasures of God are put into the Hands of the Mediator as the treasure-house to be dispensed to His body as He will.<sup>182</sup>

And the riches of God, including salvation for the sinner, are found solely in the Mediator. Only in Him is there found a way in which sin, the curse, and Wrath can be removed,<sup>183</sup> and rest and confidence can be secured for the believer.<sup>184</sup> He "is the alone Foundation of Sinners Peace, and of all the Consolation that they can have in the Promises of God,"<sup>185</sup> and justification is "the effect of Christ's Soul-travel only."<sup>186</sup>

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<sup>178</sup>Ibid., (53:11) p. 378.

<sup>179</sup>Ibid., (53:8) p. 212.

<sup>180</sup>Durham, *Clavis Cantici*, (2:17) p. 158.

<sup>181</sup>Ibid., (6:9) p. 348.

<sup>182</sup>Ibid., (1:3) p. 79; (5:11) p. 297; Durham, *Christ Crucified*, (53:8) p. 46.

<sup>183</sup>Ibid., (53:10) pp. 308, 319.

<sup>184</sup>Ibid., (53:10) p. 317.

<sup>185</sup>Ibid., (53:10) p. 319.

<sup>186</sup>Ibid., (53:11) p. 442.



Because Christ is the exclusive treasure-house of the mercies of God it is essential for the individual to be joined with Him. Concerning this union Durham explains:

There is an excellent union, and peculiar tie betwixt Christ and believers, which none other can lay claim to but they . . . . 1. It is a near union, they are "one flesh," Ephesians 5. 27, as man and wife; "they are flesh of his flesh, and bone of his bone." 2. It is a real and not imaginary union (though it be spiritual and by faith) it makes and transfers a mutual right of the one to the other, and hath real effects. 3. It is mutual on both sides, Christ is wholly hers, and she is wholly dedicated to him. 4. It is a kindly union, such as is betwixt husband and wife, and followed with the fruits of a most sweet relation. 5. It is a union which in some way full; whole Christ is hers, and she by consent and title is wholly his. 6. It is an indissoluble union, there is no dissolving of it by any thing that can fall out, otherwise the consolation were not solid.

It is the dignity of this union with Christ which is the great ground of the believer's happiness and consolation,<sup>187</sup> for thereby the satisfaction of Christ becomes his.<sup>188,189</sup>

It is through the Mediator also that there is access to God who is a consuming fire.<sup>190</sup> Christ is the Mid-man by whom the sinner can come into friendship with God and the bridge over which the gulf fixed between God and man is crossed.<sup>191</sup> Though we are rebels to God Christ

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<sup>187</sup> Durham, *Clavis Cantici*, (2:16) p. 153; (3:8) pp. 180-181.

<sup>188</sup> Durham, *Christ Crucified*, (53:11) p. 488.

<sup>189</sup> Corbett (p. 75) argues that Durham introduces a new element into the understanding of union with Christ. This doctrine is made the sole possession of the invisible and true Church of the elect. Therefore "this strong emphasis upon union with Christ as real only in the invisible Church, tends to spiritualize the doctrine. It becomes something which takes place in another realm away from the world of sense and reality."

<sup>190</sup> Durham, *Christ Crucified*, (53:2-3) p. 116. He asserts that God is easy to be dealt with, but only in the Mediator (*Ibid.*, [53:10] p. 350).

<sup>191</sup> *Ibid.*, (53:10) pp. 329-330.

has intervened as a friend of sinners and satisfied Justice.<sup>192</sup> Thus it is by and through the Mediator that we must always have our access, with boldness, unto God,<sup>193</sup> and through whom we must always worship the only true God.<sup>194</sup>

All who come to Christ are accepted, for He is "a most friendly welcomer of a sinner, and the sweetest passer-by of transgressions that can be . . . ."<sup>195</sup> He has the heart of a man to befriend those who come to Him, and He is kindly affectioned toward them.<sup>196</sup> When Christ is trusted and acknowledged to be the Son of God, not only is there a particular glory given to Him,<sup>197</sup> but He also freely gives us His benefits which cost Him dearly.<sup>198</sup> Durham adds that "there is nothing that pleases God and the Mediator better, then for lost Sinners to betake themselves to Christ, and His Righteousnesse, for Life."<sup>199</sup> Furthermore, there is great confidence in Christ, for salvation is absolutely promised to the sinner who by faith comes to Christ,<sup>200</sup> and God cannot fail to justify

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<sup>192</sup> Ibid., (53:11) p. 445.

<sup>193</sup> Ibid., (53:12) p. 546.

<sup>194</sup> Ibid., (53:12) p. 576.

<sup>195</sup> Durham, *Clavis Cantici*, (6:4) p. 341.

<sup>196</sup> Ibid., (6:12) pp. 356-357.

<sup>197</sup> Ibid., (3:1) p. 192.

<sup>198</sup> Durham, *Christ Crucified*, (53:5) pp. 153,155.

<sup>199</sup> Ibid., (53:10) p. 349.

<sup>200</sup> Ibid., (53:12) p. 511.

the sinner that believes in Christ as He is offered in the Gospel.<sup>201</sup>

In discussing the response made to the Gospel Durham is careful to note that our "closing with Christ" depends upon our prior election by the Father.<sup>202</sup> Our believing is a result of His powerful and effectual work of grace which accompanies the preaching of the Word.<sup>203</sup> Therefore God is the efficient cause of our Justification,<sup>204</sup> for it is He who sweetly controls the will, bending it according to His own good pleasure.<sup>205</sup> Durham also insists that both our faith and our repentance proceed from Christ's purchase as the proper fruit, that all praise may be ascribed to Him alone.<sup>206,207</sup>

In Christ the believer has an access, a nearness,

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<sup>201</sup>Ibid., (53:11) p. 418.

<sup>202</sup>Ibid., (53:1) p. 101.

<sup>203</sup>Ibid., (53:1) p. 82.

<sup>204</sup>Ibid., (53:11) pp. 439-440.

<sup>205</sup>Durham, *Clavis Cantici*, (5:4) p. 262.

<sup>206</sup>Durham, *Christ Crucified*, (53:11) p. 378.

<sup>207</sup>He insists that there is a necessary and inseparable connexion between the inward, efficacious work of the Spirit and faith or conversion, for where there is no work of grace, there can be no faith, and where it does exist, faith must necessarily be also. He asserts, "It is a distinct work of the Spirit, distinguished and separable from the Word; though it goes along as He pleaseth with the Word, yet it is not as if there were some Power infused into the Word, and went always and necessarily along with the Word, which is the foolish and groundless conceit of some, for albeit it accompany the Word, yet it's from a distinct Agent, working, and a distinct work, and is separable from the Word, though it be wrought on the Heart of the same Sinner to whose Ear the Word is preached" (Ibid., [53:1] pp. 82-83).

and a familiarity with Christ;<sup>208</sup> he is a son of God by adoption, a brother of Christ and a joint-heir with Him.<sup>209,210</sup> The one who closes with Christ has "a heartsome life" of joy<sup>211</sup> with Christ, the kind and loving husband.<sup>212</sup> He has a full salvation, knowing that there is nothing more to be paid to the Justice of God,<sup>213</sup> and has a change of both nature and state as He is made to partake of the divine nature and Spirit with Christ Jesus.<sup>214</sup> Moreover the believer is given "a royal princely allowance"<sup>215</sup> and is made a king and priest unto God.<sup>216,217</sup>

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<sup>208</sup> Durham, *Clavis Cantici*, (3:8) p. 180.

<sup>209</sup> Ibid., (4:9) p. 224.

<sup>210</sup> Durham adds that the humanity of the Mediator is the ground of hope for the sinner--"the Steward of Grace is a Friend, he is a Man, their Brother, and claims Kindred to them that honestly aim to do the will of the Father . . ." Durham, *Christ Crucified*, [53:2-3] p. 116).

<sup>211</sup> Durham, *Clavis Cantici*, (2:13) p. 144.

<sup>212</sup> Ibid., (2:13) p. 144.

<sup>213</sup> Durham, *Christ Crucified*, (53:12) pp. 512-513.

<sup>214</sup> Durham, *Clavis Cantici*, (4:9) p. 224.

<sup>215</sup> Ibid., (7:1) p. 365.

<sup>216</sup> Durham, *Christ Crucified*, (53:1) p. 102; (53:8) p. 224.

<sup>217</sup> Durham describes those as ignorant and misled who speak of Christ as being easier to be dealt with than is the Father. Since the Mediator is God, He has the same properties and gives pardon on the same terms (Ibid., [53:10] pp. 350-351). He also stipulates, "So here, as there are difficulties to be removed, before the union betwixt Christ and us be made up; so also there are particular sins, as perjury, breach of the covenant, and other clouds of guiltiness, which must be removed ere his presence can be restored, after he goeth away" (Durham, *Clavis Cantici*, [2:8] p. 135).

The one in Christ also has his sins imputed to Christ and Christ's sacrifice and righteousness imputed to him, for "the same way that Justice laid Claime to Him for our Debt; the same way lay we Claime to His Righteousness."<sup>218</sup> Therefore the righteousness of the Covenant of Grace is an imputed righteousness, which proceeds from the substitutionary death of Christ on the believer's behalf.<sup>219</sup> And when the sinner makes use of this once-for-all offering for sin, putting himself in Christ's place and Christ in his room,<sup>220</sup> he is absolved before the Law "not because he wants Sin, but because the Mediator hath satisfied for his Sin, and that Satisfaction is by Faith laid hold of."<sup>221</sup>

Durham contends that Justification is never to be understood as the making of a person holy through the infusion of grace, but the absolution and declaration of freedom from sin and the curse, as if a man had never sinned.<sup>222</sup> He explains:

This Word *Justification* is a Legal, Forensick, or Judicial Word; and we are to conceive of God, who is the party offended, as the Judge; and of the Sinner Arraigned, and brought before His Tribunal to be Judged, as a delinquent; the Law gives in the Lybel, or Inditement, founds the Challenge, or Accusation; the Sinners Conscience, and Actions are so many Witnesses, proving the breaking of the Law, and him to be obnoxious to the Curse on that account . . . .

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<sup>218</sup> Durham, *Christ Crucified*, (53:10) p. 328. Durham carefully explains, however, that "it is blasphemous to think, that our Sin became His any other way; but that Legally he entering Himself as our Cautioner, our Sin was reckoned on His Score; even so His Righteousness becomes ours by being imputed to us . . . ."

<sup>219</sup> Ibid., (53:11) p. 498.      <sup>220</sup> Ibid., (53:10) p. 313.

<sup>221</sup> Ibid., (53:11) p. 481.      <sup>222</sup> Ibid., (53:11) p. 419.

Its final cause is the glory of God, especially as manifested in the justifying of sinners. And its meritorious cause, or the ground upon which God justifies, is the merit and satisfaction of Christ,<sup>223</sup> including His "soul-travel and suffering."<sup>224</sup> Therefore, "His Righteousnesse is the cause of our Justification, as it is in Him inherently, and in us by imputation only."<sup>225</sup> In this act of Justification God shows Himself to be infinitely just, gracious, wise, and holy because only in the exacting of a price for redemption is His justice honoured, and His grace is manifested in the laying down of a way in which guilty sinners might be absolved.<sup>226</sup>

In justification the man ungodly in himself is declared righteous through the imputed righteousness and satisfaction of Christ.<sup>227</sup> But the term is to be understood not as the removal of the pollution of sin, but as deliverance from its guilt which makes the sinner obnoxious to the curse of God.<sup>228</sup> And although Christ has a sufficiency and efficacy in Himself both for the justification and the sanctification of believers,<sup>229</sup> justification is

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<sup>223</sup> Ibid., (53:11) pp. 439-440.

<sup>224</sup> Ibid., (53:11) p. 442.

<sup>225</sup> Ibid., (53:11) p. 444.

<sup>226</sup> Ibid., (53:11) p. 440.

<sup>227</sup> Ibid., (53:11) p. 498.

<sup>228</sup> Ibid., (53:11) pp. 462, 481.

<sup>229</sup> Durham, *Clavis Cantici*, (8:5) p. 414.

to be understood as providing freedom from the guilt of sin and sanctification as curing its wound; Durham maintains that "mans fall was a guilt, and by that fall he wounded himself; and by Christ both are removed from the Believer; by His Satisfaction He justifies, and by His Grace and Spirit, He Sanctifies him." Hence, justification and sanctification are to be distinguished, but not separated.<sup>230</sup>

While Christ's righteousness is not the believer's sanctification,<sup>231</sup> he is to rest on Christ in faith for furthering his mortification and sanctification.<sup>232</sup> And because Christ first makes the person to be accepted and then washes his duties or performances,<sup>233</sup> the good works of the believer, when done in faith, are acceptable to God, rising as an odour or sweet savour to Him.<sup>234</sup> But Durham's view of sanctification leads to a legalistic interpretation of the Christian life because of the believer's supposed dependence upon the moral law--which has a perpetual obligation as the expression of the will of God--in order to further growth in grace.<sup>235</sup>

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<sup>230</sup>Durham, *Christ Crucified*, (53:11) p. 481.

<sup>231</sup>Durham asserts, "The meaning is not as if Christs Righteousnesse were our Sanctification, which is the Error of the *Antinomians*, who make all Sanctification to be Justification, even as the *Papists* make all Justification to be Sanctification. . ." (Ibid.).

<sup>232</sup>Durham, *Clavis Cantici*, (8:5) p. 414.

<sup>233</sup>Durham, *Christ Crucified*, (53:11) p. 433.

<sup>234</sup>Durham, *Clavis Cantici*, (4:12) p. 233.

<sup>235</sup>Corbett, pp. 74,78.



Those in Christ, however, have great comfort in knowing that "there is no part of Christs undertaking, as Mediator in the Covenant of Redemption, but it is, and shall be actually performed . . . ." The agreement between God and the Mediator is sure; God cannot be unfaithful, and the Mediator cannot fail. Therefore, it is impossible that the one believing in Christ will perish, for

IF Jehovah perform the Promise made to the Mediator, and if the Mediator perform His ingagement, to Jehovah, and raise up Believers at the last day, then it must follow that their Salvation is sure . . . .<sup>236</sup>

But for those outside of Christ God is a consuming fire,<sup>237</sup> and there is nothing but sin and divine wrath.<sup>238</sup> They must endure the glory of God's justice in punishing them eternally in Hell,<sup>239</sup> a terrible end of torment, despair, and dread.<sup>240</sup> At the same time those in Christ will be raised, by virtue of His resurrection,<sup>241</sup> to unspeakable triumph and glory,<sup>242</sup> and their sanctification and union with Christ will be perfected and consummated.<sup>243</sup>

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<sup>236</sup> Durham, *Christ Crucified*, (53:12) pp. 511-512; (53:8 and Romans 5:10) p. 237.

<sup>237</sup> Ibid., (53:10) p. 351.

<sup>238</sup> Ibid., (53:10) p. 307.

<sup>239</sup> Ibid., (53:10) p. 344. Judgment is a secondary result of Christ's work when it is refused. Durham warns, "The Wrath of God is dreadful, but much more the Vengeance of the Mediator, who, because ye would not give Him His will in your Salvation, He shall have it in your Ruine, and Destruction" (Ibid., [53:11] p. 394).

<sup>240</sup> Ibid., (53:12) pp. 506-507, 514.

<sup>241</sup> Ibid., (53:8) p. 212.

<sup>242</sup> Ibid., (53:12) p. 507.

<sup>243</sup> Durham, *Clavis Cantici*, (7:11) p. 389; (8:9) p. 434.

HUMAN RESPONSE AND ASSURANCE

In Durham there is seen the strong subjective tendency of the theologians of the Second Reformation. He gives much attention to the duties of the inner life of faith, teaching that the life of the individual has a bearing upon the grace of God.<sup>244</sup> He defines faith as resting on Christ, in cordial reception of His message, as one's taking himself to Christ and His satisfaction, and as the discernment of the voice of the Saviour so that He is given entry and made welcome in the soul.<sup>245</sup> He contends that faith is not a bare assent to the truth, but a closing with and a resting on Christ,<sup>246</sup> and

it's not to be understood as it were a Declaration, or Manifestation of our Justification; Or, it is not to be understood of Faith, in the hight of full assurance, and as it is a plezophory; but of Faith, as it is a laying hold upon Christ.<sup>247</sup>

Furthermore, true faith "improves" or makes use of all the three offices of Christ, for the curing and removing of evils, each in a distinct way.<sup>248</sup> But the predominant description of faith is that which takes hold of Christ and rests on him,<sup>249</sup> uniting the soul to Christ in such a way

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<sup>244</sup>Durham, *Blessedness of Death*, p. 88; Corbett, pp. 73-74.

<sup>245</sup>Durham, *Christ Crucified*, (53:1) pp. 22-24.

<sup>246</sup>Ibid., (53:11) p. 451.

<sup>247</sup>Ibid., (53:11) p. 462.

<sup>248</sup>Ibid., (53:11) p. 472; (53:12) p. 544. Durham explains that "Faith takes hold of Him, as a King to command, and subdue us to Himself, as a Prophet to illuminate us, and cure our blindness, and as a Priest to satisfie Divine Justice, and to procure the pardon of Sin . . . ."

<sup>249</sup>Ibid., (53:11) p. 490.

that the individual has a right to His purchase.<sup>250</sup>

Durham certainly emphasizes the necessity and the reality of human response. He contends that in the "Bargain of Grace" something "is done on our side, and that is, accepting of Him [Christ] by Faith."<sup>251</sup> He explains more fully:

It's not enough that the Cautioner hath payed such a mans Debs, but the man must instruct it by producing the Discharge; the production whereof is the cause of his Absolution in Law; yet the vertue that makes the Discharge so to concur, is not the Discharge it self, but the Cautioners payment, or Satisfaction mentioned, and contained in the Sinners Discharge . . . .<sup>252</sup>

It is insisted that man must "endeavour the removal of Wrath, by the Satisfaction of Christ,"<sup>253</sup> by pleading absolution before God's tribunal on the basis of Christ's satisfaction,<sup>254</sup> and pleading for interest in the price paid for redemption.<sup>255</sup> And men are exhorted to close with Christ on His terms, for healing and restoration<sup>256</sup> and to open their hearts to Him,<sup>257</sup> thus making the right

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<sup>250</sup> Ibid., (53:1) pp. 25,31; Durham, *Clavis Cantici*, (5:6) p. 271; (6:3) pp. 336-337.

<sup>251</sup> Durham, *Christ Crucified*, (53:1) p. 24. See also Durham, *Clavis Cantici*, (5:6) p. 271.

<sup>252</sup> Durham, *Christ Crucified*, (53:11) p. 498.

<sup>253</sup> Ibid., (53:11) p. 359.

<sup>254</sup> Ibid., (53:11) p. 445.

<sup>255</sup> Ibid., (53:5) pp. 163,175-166.

<sup>256</sup> Ibid., (53:1) p. 58; (53:5) p. 54; (53:11) p. 419.

<sup>257</sup> Durham, *Clavis Cantici*, (5:5) p. 269. He explains that "the work of grace upon the heart being applied by Christ from without doth leave an inward fitness on the heart within for the opening of itself to him: grace infused and quickened by Christ's Spirit, will

use of Christ for pardon, triumph over the body of death, and progress in holiness.<sup>258</sup>

Faith is depicted as the great duty of the people, an absolute necessity, and as the condition of the offer of the Gospel.<sup>259</sup> To it there is attributed a peculiar efficacy or causality in uniting one to Christ,<sup>260</sup> as well as in securing one's justification by virtue of the merit of Christ.<sup>261,262</sup> But at the same time it is stressed that "faith is of it self nothing, but as it layes hold on some Object . . . ."<sup>263</sup> It is imputed not in respect to its act, but in respect to its Object,<sup>264</sup> so that in itself there is no efficacy; its power is derived from Christ its Object who is seen lifted up by the eye of

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make the most indisposed and secure heart to open to him heart-somely . . . . though Christ apply grace from without to open the heart, yet will he have the heart formally opening itself to him; and though the heart open itself formally to him, yet it is by the virtue of his application from without; for the putting of her hand and its dropping myrrh, is the effect of his putting in his hand first.

<sup>258</sup>Ibid., (8:5) pp. 414-415; Durham, *Christ Crucified*, (53:1) p. 74; (53:10) p. 325; (53:10) p. 351.

<sup>259</sup>Ibid., (53:1) pp. 47,52; (53:11) p. 359; (53:11) p. 485.

<sup>260</sup>Ibid., (53:11) p. 487; Durham, *Clavis Cantici*, (5:6) p. 271.

<sup>261</sup>Durham, *Christ Crucified*, (53:11) pp. 439,445.

<sup>262</sup>Durham can therefore speak of our believing as "the first immediat step whereby we come to obtain pardon of Sin and Peace with God," (Ibid., [53:5] p. 166), of faith casting one's burden on Christ (Ibid., [53:11] p. 496), of faith as the way in which men enter God's covenant (Ibid., [53:11] p. 464), and of faith making a man valiant and victorious (Durham, *Clavis Cantici*, [4:4] p. 211).

<sup>263</sup>Durham, *Christ Crucified*, (53:11) p. 449.

<sup>264</sup>Ibid., (53:11) p. 488.

faith.<sup>265,266</sup> But it is faith that entitles the sinner to Christ and His purchase, with all its glorious benefits,<sup>267</sup> and formally procures the justification of the ungodly by the imputation of Christ's righteousness.<sup>268,269</sup>

Concerning the order of the various elements in salvation Durham maintains that although the elect have a right to Christ's purchase before they believe, yet they remain under the curse and wrath of God until they look to Christ in faith.<sup>270</sup> The first work of the Spirit is the producing of powerful convictions, or evangelical repentance, in the heart, making the soul sensible of past failures<sup>271</sup> and ready for the entry of Christ by the removal of obstacles to His presence.<sup>272</sup> And although he teaches

<sup>265</sup> Ibid., (53:11) p. 490.

<sup>266</sup> Durham adds that "though Christ be the material Object of Faith, yet the Word is the formal Object, whereby we get a Right to Him, and there is no gripping or getting hold on Christ, but in, and according to His Word . . . " (Ibid., 53:1 p. 31).

<sup>267</sup> Ibid., (53:5) p. 54; (53:11) p. 500; Durham, *Clavis Cantici*, (5:6) p. 271.

<sup>268</sup> Durham, *Christ Crucified*, (53:11) pp. 419, 439, 490.

<sup>269</sup> Concerning the necessity of faith Durham further states that (1) the word of faith absolves the sinner and condemns the unbeliever (Ibid., [53:5] p. 54), (2) it is necessary to kiss the Son in order to avoid His terrible vengeance (Ibid., [53:1] p. 58), (3) faith exercises itself on Christ as Mediator as held forth in the Word (Ibid., [53:1] p. 21), (4) by believing on Christ the spiritual cure of justification is transmitted to us (Ibid., [53:11] p. 490), (5) the natural work of faith is to make the soul actually rest on Christ alone (Durham, *Clavis Cantici*, [8:5] p. 415, and (6) none of the promised blessings can be expected from Christ apart from the condition of believing in Him (Ibid., [8:9] p. 434).

<sup>270</sup> Durham, *Christ Crucified*, (53:5) p. 154.

<sup>271</sup> Durham, *Clavis Cantici*, (5:4) p. 265.

<sup>272</sup> Ibid., (5:5) p. 269.

that believers recover by means of repentance, which is an effect of the Spirit and a peculiar saving grace beyond man's natural sensibilities,<sup>273</sup> he still maintains that God "Justifies none for Repentance, yet He Justifies none but Penitents, and He requires Repentance from all whom He Justifies . . . ." <sup>274</sup> And faith must precede justification, or the absolving of a man from the curse of God, which is the natural and proper consequence of faith.<sup>275</sup>

Very important in his stress on the inner life is Durham's conception of the conscience which is sprinkled by the blood of Christ from dead works.<sup>276</sup> He appears to hold that the conscience is so clearly God's deputy that it assumes what can be considered as almost a mediatorial role in the Christian's sanctification; he declares:

If so be that conscience speaketh for God and is appointed by Him, as His Deputy, to be a remembrancer of duty and a refrainer from sin, then the awe of God and love to Him will make a man that is tender, walk according to the directions of conscience . . . .<sup>277</sup>

And he speaks of the conscience as a *natural* God-given means of inner enlightenment, existing apart from the Word. In fact, at times this place of the conscience

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<sup>273</sup> Ibid., (5:4) p. 265.

<sup>274</sup> Durham, *Christ Crucified*, (53:11) p. 451.

<sup>275</sup> Ibid., (53:11) pp. 462-463.

<sup>276</sup> Ibid., (53:5) p. 155.

<sup>277</sup> James Durham, *Heaven Upon Earth* (Edinburgh: Andrew Anderson, 1685) p. 19; Corbett, p. 76.

seems so exalted that one wonders if perhaps the place of the work of Christ and His Spirit are not displaced. It is asserted:

When Conscience, as the great and sovereign God His Deputy sits on its Throne (as it were) it hath a Divine Authority, and Majesty, whereby it scattereth all these evils that haunt the heart; so that they cannot endure and stand before it; but must flee away.<sup>278</sup>

Related to the conscience is the comfort of the believer which comes from the assurance that He has faith in Christ.<sup>279</sup> For this certainty the individual is to test the sincerity of his profession as to whether he is truly of the invisible Church and is actually a believer.<sup>280</sup> By looking to one's own faith it is asserted that one can be confident of his election and that his name is written in the Lamb's book of life.<sup>281</sup> Durham reasons:

We would commend this to you as a ground of Tryal of your selves, if ye be Justified; if ye have seriously taken with your sin, and embraced God's offer of the Righteousnesse of Christ, and rested on it; make this once sure, that ye have been sensible of Sin, that ye have been beaten from your own Righteousnesse, and that ye have fled to Jesus Christ, and closed with His Righteousnesse offered in the Gospel, then this will natively follow, that by His knowledge thou art Justified . . . .<sup>282</sup>

Thus the sure and infallible marks of election are the individual's fleeing to Christ and endeavouring earnestly to be more holy in his everyday life.<sup>283</sup>

<sup>278</sup>Durham, *Heaven Upon Earth*, p. 219; Corbett, p. 77. It appears that there is envisioned an inner light in man which gives him a self-awareness and complements the divine revelation in Jesus Christ.

<sup>279</sup>Durham, *Christ Crucified*, (53:1) p. 74.

<sup>280</sup>Ibid., (53:11) p. 485; Corbett, p. 75.

<sup>281</sup>Durham, *Christ Crucified*, (53:8) p. 225; (53:11) p. 501.

<sup>282</sup>Ibid., (53:11) p. 466.

<sup>283</sup>Ibid., (53:8) p. 225.



THE CHURCH AND THE SACRAMENTS

Those who believe in Christ, are joined spiritually with Him, and love Him, form the Church,<sup>284</sup> which is the mother of all true believers.<sup>285</sup> And Christ is gloriously suited to be the Head of the Church with infinite qualifications--including omnipotence, omniscience, and wisdom in providing what may be for the good of the body--as the God-man<sup>286</sup> and the servant of God, the "Great Lord Deputie, made head over all things to the Church . . . ."<sup>287</sup> He, the Second Person of the Godhead, has become the Mediator and Head of the Elect,<sup>288</sup> and they are His both as He is God and as He is the anointed Mediator,<sup>289</sup> and they enjoy a lively sense of communion with Him.<sup>290</sup> Although in regard to the distinction between the invisible and visible Church, he categorizes the invisible as the Church of the elect and the sincere and the visible as of both elect and reprobate who may be insincere in their profession,<sup>291</sup> he states:

That distinction of the church visible and invisible, is not a distribution of a whole into distinct parts . . . , but this is a

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<sup>284</sup>Durham, *Clavis Cantici*, ("Introduction") p. 35.

<sup>285</sup>*Ibid.*, (3:4) p. 171.

<sup>286</sup>Durham, *Christ Crucified*, (53:8) p. 213.

<sup>287</sup>*Ibid.*, (53:11) p. 397.

<sup>288</sup>*Ibid.*, (53:5) p. 157; (53:12) p. 505.

<sup>289</sup>Durham, *Clavis Cantici*, (1:3) p. 79.

<sup>290</sup>*Ibid.*, ("Introduction") p. 37.

<sup>291</sup>Corbett, p. 75.

distinct uptaking of the same whole, (viz. the church) under two distinct considerations . . . so the church thus distinguished, is but one, considered in whole, as having both renewed and unrenewed in it, and having renewed only . . . .<sup>292</sup>

He further teaches that "the invisible church is but one, and all believers make up one body," the bride of Christ, though in some respects the visible Church is His spouse.<sup>293</sup>

In regard to the organization of the Church Durham holds that the Church may not demand for her own satisfaction evidence of the sincerity or repentance of its prospective members.<sup>294</sup> And although he advocates separation from all corruption in the Church, he sharply distinguishes between separation from the corruption of the Church and separation from the worship of the corruption.<sup>295</sup> Also in matters of Church discipline he was eager to avoid the infliction of extreme penalties and pleaded for much forbearance and patience even in cases of contempt in order that the offender might be softened and restored to full fellowship if possible.<sup>296</sup>

Christ's government of His Church is not discharged immediately, but through appointed instruments who are given for the edification of the body. He has given the ministry and ordinances for the guidance of the Church mediately, and though they are employed, they never become masters--the propriety of the Church is reserved

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<sup>292</sup>Durham, *Clavis Cantici*, ("Introduction") p. 37.

<sup>293</sup>Ibid., (6:9) p. 348; (7:1) p. 362.

<sup>294</sup>Macpherson, p. 143.

<sup>295</sup>Walker, pp. 99-100.

<sup>296</sup>Macpherson, pp. 142-143.

for Christ alone.<sup>297</sup> The minister serves in the preaching of the Gospel that his hearers might be brought to saving faith in Christ,<sup>298</sup> and "Church ordinances are the allowed and ordinary means of keeping fellowship with Christ, and they are empty when he is not there."<sup>299</sup> Durham maintains that the sacraments represent Christ and His benefits, ratifying and confirming the believer's right to Him and the good things promised through Him.<sup>300</sup> Furthermore, they

are extended, not only to the Elect, but to Professors in the visible Church, that every one who is baptized and admitted to the Communion, may have confirmation of this, that the Offer that God maketh of Life through Christ, is a true and real Offer and will be made good to the Persons that shall receive it, and so perform the condition.<sup>301</sup>

#### CRITICISMS OF THE ROMAN CATHOLIC CHURCH

Durham's conception of the Mediator includes a number of rather harsh criticisms of the Roman Catholic Church of his day. In addition to his general remarks,<sup>302</sup> he criticizes the Romanists for removing the full being

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<sup>297</sup> Durham, *Clavis Cantici*, (8:11) p. 444.

<sup>298</sup> Durham, *Christ Crucified*, (53:1) p. 7.

<sup>299</sup> Durham, *Clavis Cantici*, (3:4) p. 171.

<sup>300</sup> Durham, *Christ Crucified*, (53:11) p. 152.

<sup>301</sup> *Ibid.*, (53:1) p. 15.

<sup>302</sup> His general criticisms include such statements that (1) the design of Popery is of the the devil (*Ibid.*, [53:9] p. 255), (2) though the Papists use the same terms ("faith," "pardon," and "remission)," there is a very great difference in the meaning assigned to these words (*Ibid.*, [53:11] p. 425), (3) they count nothing to be faith but historical faith, which even the devils possess (*Ibid.*, [53:11] p. 425), (4) the Papist doctrine corrupts and destroys the nature of grace by hanging it all on man's free will, and (5) they utterly exclude grace and take in merit, making heaven to be the proper reward of man's own efforts (*Ibid.*, [53:11] p. 427).

of glory from the merit of Christ and the promise of God,<sup>303</sup> "inervating the Merit of Christ and His Purchase" by denying that it is the satisfaction to Justice by which punishment is removed and life is procured for the sinner; for the Papists Justice must be satisfied by our own keeping of the Covenant of Works. He also condemns the Roman Catholic Church because of her teaching on such matters as works and satisfaction by penance, whippings, and pilgrimages, asserting that "they will have no Promise of Life to be made on condition of Christ's Merit, laid hold upon by Faith; but on condition of our own Works alone . . . ." <sup>304,305</sup> Thus they attempt to satisfy God and to procure Heaven by their own merits. And when a man has insufficient personal merit he is referred to the treasure of merits of many saints who by supererogation have given the Church the right to dispense merits through the Pope.<sup>306</sup>

In connection with this concept of merit is the Roman error of denying concupiscence to be sin and distinguishing between mortal and venial sins, the latter being held to be consistent with merit.<sup>307</sup> And through

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<sup>303</sup> Ibid., (53:11) p. 426.

<sup>304</sup> Ibid., (53:11) p. 427.

<sup>305</sup> He also criticizes the Papists for placing the essence of faith in the understanding (Ibid., [53:11] p. 475) and holding that there is merit in believing (Ibid., [53:11] p. 489).

<sup>306</sup> Ibid., (53:11) p. 426.

<sup>307</sup> Ibid., (53:11) p. 426.

such teaching which denies the motions of corruption within believers to be sins,<sup>308</sup> as well as distinguishing between removing the blot of sin and removing its punishment,<sup>309</sup> the scriptural doctrine of sin is overturned.<sup>310</sup> Along with this misconception of sin is the notion that the individual must make himself capable of sanctification and habitual grace by his own will, faith, and deeds.<sup>311</sup> This ability is thought to lie within man to the extent that perfection according to the Law is possible in this life--thus the Romanists are described as enemies of the sacrifice of the Lord Jesus Christ.<sup>312,313</sup>

Issuing from these criticisms with regard to sin and sanctification is Durham's condemnation of the Romanists by failing to distinguish between justification and sanctification, but teaching a twofold justification. Durham explains:

The 1. whereof is, that which they call the Justification of a wicked Person, or of an unrenewed man, when Grace is at first infused into him, which they grant a man cannot of himself *condignly* merit: The 2d. is of a man growing or increasing in Grace, when he attains to more Grace, and to more Glory; Grace

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<sup>308</sup> Ibid., (53:9) p. 255.

<sup>309</sup> Ibid., (53:11) p. 425.

<sup>310</sup> Ibid., (53:11) p. 427.

<sup>311</sup> Ibid., (53:11) p. 425.

<sup>312</sup> Ibid., (53:9) p. 254.

<sup>313</sup> In regard to Christ's continual ministry of intercession Durham contends, "It being an error of the *Papists*, to make the Intercession of Christ, to be a thing performed by the humane nature only, which lesseneth the consolation of Believers, and is inconsistent with the Union of the two natures, and detracts from the weight that his God-head gives to his Intercession" (Ibid., [53:12] p. 521).

and Glory being of the same Nature . . . And to this *Second*, Justification, they make necessary a Mans proper merit of Works; for they say that the first Justification will not do a mans turn, who is come to age, though to a child it be sufficient; because their attaining of Glory who are of Age, is the proper hire of their Works, which supposes Holinesse; And therefore, when they say that Christs merit procures Justification, their meaning is, that it procures the *First* Justification, but not the *Second*; That is in effect to say, that it buyes habitual Grace, as a stock to a Man, wherewith he may Trade . . . .<sup>314</sup>

Durham condemns the gross error with regard to justification,<sup>315</sup> which is actually a re-establishment of the Covenant of Works.<sup>316,317</sup> Only in the remote sense is Christ's satisfaction seen to be the meritorious cause in that it procures inherent grace; it is not the only meritorious cause, but more of a meritorious influence.<sup>318,319</sup>

Also the Romanists take the sacraments as being means whereby God works grace<sup>320</sup> as they corrupt and destroy the nature of the sacraments, creating ones that God never ordained, and giving them power to work which God never bestowed upon them.<sup>321</sup> Durham also condemns "that

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<sup>314</sup>Ibid., (53:11) pp. 424-425.

<sup>315</sup>Ibid., (53:11) p. 428.

<sup>316</sup>Ibid., (53:11) pp. 426,427.

<sup>317</sup>The Romanists are criticized for confounding the two covenants, making works as the condition of both (Ibid., [53:11] p. 443), for leaving it to the death of Christ to procure only a new Covenant of Works, and for overturning the nature of God's Covenant, for either they make it to be no Covenant at all, or they transform the Covenant of Grace into the Covenant of Works (Ibid., [53:11] p. 427).

<sup>318</sup>Ibid., (53:11) p. 442.

<sup>319</sup>Durham further argues (1) that the Papists leave a man to satisfy in part for himself after his justification, (2) they distinguish between the reward of guilt in the first justification and the reward of punishment in the second (Ibid., [53:11] pp. 425-426), (3) they eliminate covenanting and scorn the imputation of Christ's righteousness as but a putative and imaginary thing (Ibid., [53:11] p. 427).

<sup>320</sup>Ibid., (53:11) p. 425.

<sup>321</sup>Ibid., (53:11) pp. 427-428.

Blasphemous Conceit, and Fancie of the *Papists*, who account their abominable *Mass*, a Propitiatory Sacrifice, for taking away the Sins of the Quick, and the Dead; which as it is most horrid Blasphemy . . . ." <sup>322</sup>

#### SUMMARY

In Dickson and Durham the highpoint of Federal Calvinism is certainly reached, with such distinguishing features as a sharp division between the Person and work of Christ, three covenants, a strong stress on the legal and forensic aspects of Christ's work--including His bearing of the curse, His death, His satisfaction of the divine wrath, and the intensity of His sufferings--a doctrine of the atonement expressed almost exclusively in commercial figures, and a God who is largely one of terror and anger, who must be propitiated into being gracious and must be satisfied before He can forgive the sinner.

Along with these features and others such as limited atonement, double predestination, and an almost exclusive emphasis on the substitutionary aspect of Christ's work, Durham especially stands out for his strong subjective tendency, whereby he is greatly concerned with man's response to God's grace ("closing with Christ") and finding the marks of election within for proper assurance. Because his attention is not fixed solely and steadfastly on the incarnate Son of God who has vicariously accomplished in His assumption of our humanity the entire redemption of

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<sup>322</sup>Ibid., (53:10) p. 329.



the human race, Durham is forced inward. This tendency is seen in his treatment of the Church and the sacraments where the stress becomes more of a man's response and reception rather than of the self-giving manifestation of God through the Mediator in His Church and by means of the sacraments. Only when one's chief concern is the Person of Christ, who He is and what He has done, can the doctrines of the Church and the sacraments, as well as all other doctrines, be seen in their true Biblical perspective.

### EPILOGUE

#### CONCERNING "THE SUM OF SAVING KNOWLEDGE"

One work, which had great influence on Scottish theology--entitled "the Sum of Saving Knowledge " (1650) --is thought to have been written jointly by Dickson and Durham.<sup>323</sup> Although this small treatise was not a product of the Westminster Assembly, because of a printer's error, it was bound with the documents of Westminster until 1744. Thus it was almost as well known to eighteenth and nineteenth century Evangelicals as the Shorter Catechism and had a wide influence; indeed it often served as a more or less official theological interpretation of the

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<sup>323</sup> Macpherson, pp. 47-48; Macloed, p. 85; Corbett, p. 73; Faris, p. 181; T. F. Henderson, "Dickson," p. 42; J. B. Torrance, "Covenant," p. 63.

Westminster Standards.<sup>324</sup>

This treatise teaches the existence of three covenants: (1) the Covenant of Works between God and Adam, (2) the Covenant of Redemption between the Father and the Son, and (3) the Covenant of Grace between God and man through Jesus Christ the Mediator, and each of these covenants is cast into contractual form.<sup>325</sup> It certainly teaches an extreme form of Calvinism,<sup>326</sup> using mercantile figures in presenting the doctrine of salvation, especially as it is contracted between the Father and then accepted legally by believers.<sup>327,328</sup>

Head I depicts God as most wisely decreeing all that will come to pass, executing holily and infallibly all his decrees, and creating man holy and upright in His covenant (or contract) with them and their posterity, which promised life upon condition of obedience and death in the event of sin. As did the angels before, man sinned (original sin) becoming liable to eternal death and lost

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<sup>324</sup>Faris, p. 174. See also G. D. Henderson, *Religious Life in Seventeenth Century Scotland* (Cambridge: University Press, 1937), p. 163 and C. G. McCrie, *The Confessions of the Church of Scotland* (Edinburgh: MacNiven and Wallace, 1907), pp. 71-72.

<sup>325</sup>J. B. Torrance, "Covenant," p. 62; Faris, pp. 173-174.

<sup>326</sup>James B. Torrance, "The Contribution of McLeod Campbell to Scottish Theology, *Scottish Journal of Theology*, 26, 1973, p. 304 (Hereafter designated as J. B. Torrance, "McLeod Campbell").

<sup>327</sup>Faris, p. 181; Corbett, pp. 45-46; See especially McCrie, *The Confessions of the Church of Scotland*, p. 72.

<sup>328</sup>"The Sum of Saving Knowledge," in *The Subordinate Standards and Other Authoritative Documents of the Free Church of Scotland* (Edinburgh: Free Church of Scotland, 1933) pp. 252-253.

all ability to please God.

Head II presents God's gracious provision of a way of saving sinners--through the covenant of redemption enacted between the Father and the Son from eternity. Those who have been chosen from eternity by the Father are given unto the appointed Redeemer upon the condition of His Incarnation, suffering, and obedience unto death for them. This condition and bargain was accepted and fulfilled, and the purchased benefits are now applied to man by virtue of the covenant of grace and reconciliation, through faith in Christ, by which the right to both Christ and His benefits is bestowed upon the believer. The covenant of redemption involves the assumption of the three-fold office of Prophet, Priest, and King by Christ--He is a Prophet to reveal saving knowledge to His people and to persuade them to believe and obey the same; He is a Priest to offer Himself as a sacrifice once and to intercede continually with the Father for making the persons and services of His own people acceptable to Him; He is a King to subdue His own to Himself, to feed and rule them by His appointed ordinances, and to defend them from their enemies.

Head III lists four outward means and ordinances (The Word of God, the sacraments, Kirk-government, Prayer) by which men are made partakers of the covenant of grace and the reprobate are stumbled. In the Word of God there is the offer of grace to sinners on condition of faith in Christ, and in the sacraments the covenant is sealed for

confirming the bargain. The covenant of grace was also set down in the Old Testament and sealed with the sacraments of circumcision and the paschal lamb, which signified Christ's death to come.

Head IV states that by the outward ordinances God through the power of the Spirit converts men, gives them saving faith, gives them repentance, and sanctifies them. Furthermore, He changes their state, justifying them through the imputation of Christ's perfect obedience, reserves them to Himself, adopts them as His own children, and perfects the holiness and blessedness of their souls and bodies in the final day.

## CONCLUSION

After a careful examination of the theology of these later Calvinists and a comparison of their works with the documents of the Scottish Reformation, it becomes obvious that there have been some significant, though perhaps at times subtle, modifications in the doctrine of the Mediator. This observation refers, of course, to the overall system or structure into which this doctrine, with its interconnections, is cast. As has been demonstrated throughout, there are always individual qualifications and exceptions to every statement or general rule which can be formulated. But when one looks at the general thrusts, emphases, stresses, and implications, a number of potential weaknesses or faults can be isolated regarding the doctrine of the Mediator held by these later theologians. The differences between the two perspectives are quite amazing when the fact is taken into account that all the men considered hold to the same scriptures and the same Christian traditions, confessing faith in the same God, the same Christ, and membership in the same Church. Thus one is again reminded of the absolute necessity of proper scientific theology for the health and well-being of the Church in all ages and in all circumstances.

One other preliminary observation which could be

made concerns the gradualness of some of these subtle variations. While Knox and the Scots Confession for the most part centre on the Person of Christ and His vicarious undertaking for all men as the universal representative for the race before the Father, in Welch the attention is beginning to turn to the individual with a restriction of the grace of God to the elect. And in Melville and Rollock the seeds of Federal Calvinism are evident with their more Aristotelian scholasticism, two kingdoms, two covenants, and the limitation of the Lordship and mediation of Christ so as to include only His Church, as well as the fixing of more attention on the individual self. In Gillespie, and especially in Rutherford, Dickson, and Durham, the highpoint of the Federalist system is reached with its teaching on three covenants, legal categories, emphasis on the passive obedience of Christ, and stress on the appropriation of salvation by man. Had these tendencies been checked in the earlier theologians such as Welch, Melville, and Rollock, it is quite possible that the system of Federal Calvinism, or Covenant Theology, might never have become for many years the dominant theology of Scotland.<sup>1</sup>

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<sup>1</sup>For a brief, but informative, discussion of the history of Federal Theology which includes the two early Federalists John Cocceius (*Summa doctrina de foedere et Testamento Dei*, 1648) and Herman Witsius (*De Oeconomia Foederum Dei cum hominibus*, 1677), see Faris, pp. 176-180. See also (1) T. M. Lindsay, "Covenant Theology," *British and Foreign Evangelical Review*, XXVIII, 1879, 521-528, (2) Heinrich Heppe, *Dogmatik des deutschen Protestantismus im sechzehnten Jahrhundert* (Gotha: F. A. Perthes, 1857), I, p. 143 ff., (3) W. Adams Brown, "Covenant Theology," *Encyclopedia of Religion and Ethics*, IV, pp. 216-224, (4) Charles S. McCoy, "Johannes Cocceius:

Though there were several positive benefits which resulted from the teaching of the Federal Calvinists,<sup>2</sup> there appears also to have been a good number of negative results which are worthy of examination. The system certainly appears more scholastic in its employment of logical rules of non-contradiction in the search for a coherent set of doctrines. But the question to be asked is whether the categories used by its proponents were Biblical and were employed in a manner which was faithful to their Biblical usage.<sup>3</sup>

Perhaps the most profound and most carefully articulated critical analysis and final denunciation of this system is found in the teaching of John McLeod Campbell (1800-1872), who was deposed from the ministry of the Church of Scotland (1831) because of this rejection.<sup>4</sup> He has been described as one of the greatest of Scottish theologians and his book *The Nature of the Atonement* (1856) as one of the great classics on this doctrine.<sup>5</sup>

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Federal Theologian," *Scottish Journal of Theology*, XVI, No. 4 (December 1963), pp. 352-370, (5) Karl Barth, *Church Dogmatics* (Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark, 1956), 4/1, p. 56, (6) L. J. Trinterud, "The Origins of Puritanism," *Church History*, XX, 1951, pp. 37-57, (7) H. Richard Niebuhr, "The Idea of Covenant and American Democracy," *Church History*, XXIII, 1954, pp. 126-135, (8) Everett H. Emerson, "Calvin and the Covenant Theology," *Church History*, XXV, 1956, pp. 136-144.

<sup>2</sup>See T. F. Torrance, "Baptism," p. 29; T. F. Torrance, *School*, p. LXV; J. B. Torrance, "Covenant," p. 65; Faris, p. 181.

<sup>3</sup>Faris, pp. 182, 187.

<sup>4</sup>A. C. Bickley, "Campbell, John McLeod," *Dictionary of National Biography*, 1886, VIII, pp. 388-389; Faris, pp. 11-49.

<sup>5</sup>J. B. Torrance, "McLeod Campbell," p. 295.



Unlike the men involved in the "Marrow Controversy,"<sup>6</sup> he discarded the federal framework with its legal and forensic scheme which determined and moulded the concept of grace.<sup>7</sup> And this break with the rationalism and moralism of federalism proved to be one of his most significant achievements.<sup>8</sup> Certainly any extended analysis of the Federal system in Scotland would be incomplete without reference to his teaching.

#### SUGGESTED MODIFICATIONS OF THE REFORMATION DOCTRINE OF THE MEDIATOR IN FEDERAL CALVINISM

##### I. WHY IS THE MEDIATOR NECESSARY?

One of the first areas of disagreement between the doctrine of the Mediator propounded in the Scottish

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<sup>6</sup>Faris, pp. 158-170, (2) Corbett, pp. 120-134, (3) Donald Jay Bruggink, "The Theology of Thomas Boston" (Ph.D. thesis, University of Edinburgh, 1956), (4) Charles L. Moffatt, Jr., "James Hog of Carnock (1658-1734), Leader in the Evangelical Party in Early Eighteenth Century Scotland" (Ph.D. thesis, University of Edinburgh, 1960), (5) David C. Lachman, "The Marrow Controversy: An Historical Survey With Special Reference to the Free Offer of the Gospel, the Extent of the Atonement and Assurance and Saving Faith" (Th.M. thesis, Westminster Theological Seminary, 1973).

<sup>7</sup>Faris, p. 208; Corbett, p. 148.

<sup>8</sup>In order for John McLeod Campbell's theology to be properly understood it must be viewed first in the light of the whole course of the Scottish Church's doctrine of the atonement and secondly from the standpoint of the whole of his framework of thinking, and not strictly in reference to any one aspect by itself. See Corbett, p. 148. He is probably one of the most misunderstood and misinterpreted of all Scottish theologians--e.g. (1) Eugene Bewkes, *Legacy of the Christian Mind, John McLeod Campbell* (Philadelphia: Judson Press, 1937), p. 213, (2) Vincent Taylor, *The Expository Times*, vol. 48, 1936-1937, p. 269, (3) Otto Pfleiderer, *The Development of Theology in Germany and in Great Britain Since 1825* (London: Swan Sonnenschein and Co., 1890), p. 382, and (4) Augustus Hopkins Strong, *Systematic Theology* (Rochester, New York: E. R. Andrews, 1896), p. 200. It is interesting to note that B. B. Warfield, the great American fundamentalist, and sometimes considered America's greatest systematic theologian, in his *The Person and Work of Christ* (Philadelphia:

Reformation and that held by the Scottish Federalists is in the question as to why a mediator between God and man is required. Although at first glance this problem may seem like a product of theological naïvety, it embraces what appears to be a fundamental theological difference between the two perspectives. While Calvin insists that all of God's dealings with man are in grace, and that there is nothing which is prior to grace, in the federal system there is a rather rigid separation of nature and grace, with nature being placed prior to grace. And whereas in the Bible God's whole relation to man is in the Mediator, the federalist system makes a division between man's essential being and his being as a sinner--therefore, in man's essential being he can have a natural relation to God without the intervention of a mediator.<sup>9</sup> Calvin insists that even unfallen man required a Mediator because of the great gulf between his own creaturyness and his Creator; hence, there is an epistemological need for a Mediator.<sup>10</sup> But in the teaching of the later Calvinists the Mediator is needed only after the entrance of sin into the human sphere;<sup>11</sup> as long as the Covenant of Works re-

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Presbyterian and Reformed Publishing Company, 1950), pp. 366, 380, has no negative comments regarding McLeod Campbell's doctrine of the atonement, but only of its misuse by his followers.

<sup>9</sup>Corbett, p. 49; See Rollock, p. 238.

<sup>10</sup>See Calvin, pp. 36-37.

<sup>11</sup>See Rollock, pp. 248-249, 268; Gillespie, p. 299; Rutherford, p. 368. Augustine, p. 66, also manifests this same teaching, as does Brunner (*The Mediator*), p. 314.

mained in force there was no Mediator required.<sup>12</sup>

Out of this teaching is the implication that the Mediator exists only as a remedy for sin. The Incarnation is viewed as the necessary prelude to the bearing of the penalty of sin, rather than the positive sanctifying and renewing of human life. And the atonement is grounded almost exclusively on the fact of human sin, rather than on the divine purpose of the Creator for His creature.<sup>13</sup> While Calvin and Knox would never have denied the seriousness of sin and the vicarious victory of Christ over evil, their stress is more on the positive character of the Incarnation and the atonement as the loving expression of the will of the Father for His estranged creatures, a purpose which far surpasses the mere satisfaction of supposed legal requirements.

It is also questionable whether the federalists adequately grasp the cosmic significance of Christ's mediation. When Christ is seen as Head of the new creation, His mediation is also understood to apply to all men, all creatures, the angelic realm, and the entire created order. Of course man is the special recipient of His finished work, but the remainder of the universe is

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<sup>12</sup>See Rollock, p. 272; Gillespie, p. 334; Dickson, pp. 431-432. Rutherford, p. 389, is a lone exception to this teaching, however, for he teaches that Christ was the Mediator of the Covenant of Works, though veiled.

<sup>13</sup>Corbett, pp. 159, 249. See Gillespie, pp. 298, 301; Dickson, p. 425; Durham, p. 456.

not excluded.<sup>14</sup>

## II. THE VICARIOUS, REPRESENTATIVE HUMANITY OF CHRIST

In the Reformers there is an immense stress laid on the importance of the humanity of the Mediator and the fact that His obedience, His death, His resurrection, and His exaltation were performed in our very same flesh.<sup>15</sup>

But in the later Calvinists the greater emphasis appears to be placed on the deity of Christ and His divine attributes, while the humanity of Christ seems often to be given an inferior treatment; it is frequently pictured merely as a legal assumption for forensic purposes. And whereas the Reformers speak freely of "the man Christ Jesus" the Federalists appear to prefer the designation "God-man." This term has the advantage of protecting the single personality of Christ, but the great disadvantage of implying that He is neither fully God nor fully man, but something between the two.<sup>16</sup>

Issuing from the Reformer's great stress on the humanity of Christ is their teaching on His solidarity with mankind by Virtue of the Incarnation. By His partaking of our flesh they see the establishment of an ontological bond, a fraternity of flesh, which holds all men objectively in Christ and serves as the presupposition for His atoning

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<sup>14</sup> Compare Romans 8:19-23 and Gillespie, p. 324, n. 185.

<sup>15</sup> See Knox, pp. 102, 117 and Welch, pp. 195-196; Scots Confession, p. 75; Calvin, p. 27.

<sup>16</sup> See Rollock, p. 243; Gillespie, pp. 307-308, 317; Rutherford, p. 390.

work. Man must of course be engrafted into Christ pneumatologically, but this necessity never negates the solidarity of the Mediator with the entire human race as its elder brother and the Second Adam.<sup>17</sup> However, in the Federalist system, this relationship seems either to be overlooked or applied only to the Church (or the elect), never to all men everywhere.

Related to this doctrine of the solidarity of Christ established by the Incarnation is the question of whether Christ assumed the same flesh as the human race or a human nature which differed qualitatively in its sinlessness. While the Reformers are cautious in this regard--perhaps even too cautious--they do teach that Christ vicariously sanctified our humanity in Himself.<sup>18</sup> But the Federalists are unanimous in their careful guarding of Christ's humanity so as to exclude all possibility of its being defiled by that corruption which we inherit from Adam.<sup>19</sup> In revolting from the Calvinistic system John McLeod Campbell insists that Christ assumed our same fallen human nature;<sup>20</sup> he states, "It was not that the flesh of Christ differed in one particle from mine--but that Christ did present his flesh which was even in my flesh, without

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<sup>17</sup> Knox, pp. 86-87; Scots Confession, p. 75; Calvin, pp. 28-29.

<sup>18</sup> See Calvin, pp. 30, 51; Knox, p. 101.

<sup>19</sup> See Rollock, pp. 241, 256; Gillespie, pp. 306, 325; Rutherford, pp. 370-371; Dickson, p. 422; Durham, p. 458. This same teaching is also found in Augustine, p. 66 and Brunner, p. 319.

<sup>20</sup> Faris, p. 113.

spot to God *thro' the eternal spirit.*"<sup>21</sup>

The original Scottish reformed theology put great stress on the representative character of Christ in His atoning work, which began with His Incarnation.<sup>22</sup>

In this capacity He fulfills a twofold function, representing man before God and representing God before men.<sup>23</sup>

The Reformers not only demonstrate a strong emphasis on the representative nature of Christ's work, but they also attribute this activity to His humanity--He is the representative in our flesh.<sup>24</sup> But in the Federalists this doctrine of Christ's representation seems to be set aside, or given a very inferior place in the overall scheme.<sup>25</sup>

Along with this lessened emphasis on representation is a playing down of the active obedience of Christ, which Calvin describes as "the whole course of His obedience." The Federalists speak of Christ as having fulfilled the Covenant of Works for us, largely in a legal sense, and they insist that the active obedience has saving merit only as the presupposition for His death upon the cross.

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<sup>21</sup>John McLeod Campbell, *Notes of Sermons by the Rev. John McLeod Campbell* (3 vols.; Paisley: John Wallace, Lithographer, 1831), Vol. I, Sermon VIII (Galatians 2:20), p. 23 (Hereafter designated as "Galatians").

<sup>22</sup>Corbett, p. 27.

<sup>23</sup>J. B. Torrance, "McLeod Campbell," p. 306; Brunner, p. 501.

<sup>24</sup>See Calvin, p. 45 and Knox, p. 101.

<sup>25</sup>Corbett, p. 90. See Gillespie, p. 321 and Dickson, p. 425. This statement is well demonstrated by Corbett's thesis as he traces the loss of this representative aspect in Federal Calvinism.

In itself the active obedience appears to play little part in their doctrine of the atonement<sup>26</sup> because of their preoccupation with the passive obedience of Christ, whereby through His death He made satisfaction to divine justice for the breach of the Law on man's part. The work of Christ is regarded as dealing with the transgression of man in a legal sense, that is, of man's relation to God which is spoiled by sin, not of man's essential and natural relation to God by virtue of creation.<sup>27</sup> Furthermore, the tendency is to insist first on judicial justification and justifying faith, and then, on that basis, to speak of our entering into union with Christ. Thus the stress of the Federal Calvinists falls on the substitutionary aspect of Christ's work and the enormity of His sufferings, which included the divine wrath and the torment deserved by the elect in eternal damnation.<sup>28</sup> However, the older Reformed theology delights in uplifting the obedience of Christ and its representative character so that Christ is understood as fulfilling in Himself the divine purposes for mankind by His vicarious life of faithfulness before the Father.<sup>29</sup>

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<sup>26</sup> See Rollock, pp. 251-252; Gillespie, pp. 321-322; Rutherford, pp. 377, 383, 406; Durham, pp. 464-465.

<sup>27</sup> Corbett, p. 50.

<sup>28</sup> See Rollock, p. 253; Rutherford, p. 378; Dickson, pp. 426-427; Durham, pp. 464-466.

<sup>29</sup> Theology which is true to the Biblical records will always retain both the representative and the substitutionary aspect of Christ's finished work.



And because God's dealings with man in Christ are interpreted largely in a legal fashion and are not allowed to play the creative role assigned to them by the Biblical message, the filial end of the Incarnation and atonement--the bringing of man to the adoption to sonship in Christ--has little meaning in the federal scheme.<sup>30</sup> Its doctrine of the atonement, consistent with its own scheme, is forensic and is worked out in what is considered the appropriate legal categories because of the supposed conflict between the attributes of justice and grace.<sup>31</sup> Also the doctrine of union with Christ appears not to be given that substantial place it had occupied in the teaching of the Reformers, since it is the forensic elements of the atonement with which the Calvinists are concerned.<sup>32</sup>

For the Reformers the forensic aspect in the atoning work of Christ rests upon the basis of His Incarnation, upon His Person and obedience, and therefore the forensic element in justification reposes for its substance and meaning upon union with Christ. Hence their great concern is with the Person of Christ, who He is, and His perfect human life whereby reconciliation is actualized. And there is no attempt to separate His person from His work.<sup>33</sup> But

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<sup>30</sup>Corbett, p. 50. Legal emphases are not unbiblical *per se*, but a harmful imbalance occurs when the filial is subordinated to the judicial as happened in much of Federal theology.

<sup>31</sup>Corbett, p. 101; See Part II, Section 1, regarding the Doctrine of God.

<sup>32</sup>See Rutherford, p. 378; Dickson, pp. 432-433, 470.

<sup>33</sup>Corbett, p. 31.

in the later Calvinists one wonders whether perhaps the incarnational oneness of Christ is separated from His active and passive obedience, and the atonement is separated from the Incarnation. It certainly appears that the latter theologians are more concerned with the drama of redemption and the appropriation of salvation by man, so that the great question becomes how man can be saved. Also there appears to be an intellectualizing and objectifying of grace, faith, salvation, and imputation which seems strange when compared with the more Christocentric approach of the Reformers, who centre their attention on the Person of Christ and the concept of union with Him. Along with this separation of the Person and work of Christ and this objectification process, is what appears to be a rather rigid separation between justification and sanctification, the former being the result of the believer's faith, and the latter largely the result of his own pious striving in accordance with the moral law of God.<sup>34</sup>

It was against this system of Federal Calvinism with its legal categories and forensic doctrine of the atonement that John McLeod Campbell revolted. He finds what he considers to be the foundation truth of all that he teaches in the mystery of the Incarnation.<sup>35</sup> He marvels

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<sup>34</sup> See Rollock, pp. 265,274; Rutherford, pp. 402,406; Dickson, pp. 441-445; Durham, pp. 483-484.

<sup>35</sup> He states that the basic truth is in regard to " . . . the subject of our Lord's humanity--the subject of our Lord's having taken our nature just as we have it--flesh and blood, just as it exists in you and me. Though this is the last in the order in

that by means of the Incarnation and the working of the Spirit man is allowed to participate in the nature of God, without actually being God.<sup>36</sup> And by means of what is often called his doctrine of the "vicarious penitence of Christ," he attempts to recover Calvin's teaching that Christ has fulfilled for us all the obligations of grace.<sup>37</sup> McLeod Campbell strongly reasserts the representative nature of Christ's work, by which He lived and suffered, not as a private person, but as the head and representative of the entire human race. He proclaims:

Thus I can look back on the whole history of Christ's dealings with the flesh--I can consider all his denyings of it--all his refusings to bow to it--all his treating of it as a thing that was dead and had no claim on him that he should bow to it, and I can say Christ was right in this, and I can put to my seal to the righteousness of this, and I can put my flesh on that footing in reference to myself on which Christ put his flesh in reference to himself . . . .<sup>38</sup>

McLeod Campbell contends that the Calvinists have fixed upon the obedience of Christ as the fulfilling of the law in such a way that His life of sonship, in which

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which I have myself been instructed, yet it is the foundation truth of all . . . . Out of this springs as a necessary consequence, the universality of the atonement--out of this springs, as a necessary consequence, the love, the reality of love in God to all, as the cause of the atonement--and out of this springs the reality of sin in all, as the cause, in respect of man, of the atonement--out of this springs the fitness of the language that 'we are the sons of God'--out of this springs the propriety of speaking of men as having the mind of God in them, while dwelling in flesh and blood" (John McLeod Campbell, *Sermons and Lectures* [2 vols.; Greenock, 1831-1832], I, p. 100; Faris, p. 91.

<sup>36</sup> John McLeod Campbell, "Galatians," (2:20) p. 19.

<sup>37</sup> J. B. Torrance, "Covenant," p. 70.

<sup>38</sup> John McLeod Campbell, "Galatians," (2:20) pp. 5-6.

this fulfilment has taken place, is left out of sight.<sup>39</sup>

Thus the federal scheme with its forensic framework is faulted for by-passing the whole divine purpose of adoption and for substituting a legal standing for a filial standing.<sup>40</sup> He explains:

Let us think of Christ as the Son who reveals the Father, that we have sinned, that we may see how sin, in making us godless, has made us orphans, and understand that the grace of God, which is at once the remission of past sin, and the gift of eternal life, restores to our orphan spirits their Father and to the Father of spirits His lost children.<sup>41</sup>

One of his most profound insights is the intrinsic connection which exists between the Incarnation and the atonement. In fact, it is the logic of the natural relationship between the Incarnation and the atonement which determines his thought, for he perceives that the atonement is a development of the Incarnation, and the Incarnation is the basis and presupposition of the atonement.<sup>42</sup> While the Incarnation is not itself the atonement, the latter must be understood in the light of the former; that is, the atonement must be seen in the light of the revelation in Christ of the positive purpose of God for human life, which is the bringing of man to the divine

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<sup>39</sup> John McLeod Campbell, *The Nature of the Atonement and its Relation to Remission of Sins and Eternal Life*, 4th ed. (London: James Clarke & Co., Ltd., 1959), p. 70 (Hereafter designated as *Atonement*).

<sup>40</sup> Corbett, pp. 163, 169.

<sup>41</sup> John McLeod Campbell, *Atonement*, p. 171.

<sup>42</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 142; Faris, pp. 98, 421; Corbett, pp. 159-160; Hendry, pp. 82-83.

life in the adoption to sonship.<sup>43</sup> Therefore, he insists that the proper approach to the doctrine of the atonement is not from the perspective of legal necessities, but from the revelation of the life of sonship given in Christ-- "sonship and being brought to God must determine the doctrine of the necessity of the atonement, not the concepts of sin and law."<sup>44</sup>

In the formulation of his doctrine of the atonement, he maintains that contained within the sufferings of Christ is the expression both of the mind of God upon the sins of men and the human response of a perfect confession of sin and repentance.<sup>45</sup> As God toward man Christ suffered from our sin, and as man toward God He accepted the Father's wrath and judgment, turning it away, and offered a perfect confession and repentance on the part of mankind.<sup>46</sup> His confession in our nature, which constitutes "a perfect Amen in humanity to the judgment of God on the sin of man," has within it all the elements of a perfect repentance in humanity for all of man's sin, including a perfect sorrow and a perfect contrition. And "by that perfect response in Amen to the mind of God in relation to

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<sup>43</sup>Corbett, pp. 160-161. Adoption to sonship is described as the "prospective aspect" of the atonement and the deliverance from sin and evil as the "retrospective aspect."

<sup>44</sup>Ibid., p. 167; Cf. Brunner, p. 485.

<sup>45</sup>Hendry, p. 81.

<sup>46</sup>Corbett, pp. 171-172. Though his doctrine certainly includes the element of vicarious repentance, it is inaccurate to describe his doctrine of the atonement solely by this designation.

sin is the wrath of God rightly met, and that is accorded to divine justice which is its due, and could alone satisfy it."<sup>47</sup>

It is further argued that only through the Incarnation of the Son of God was it possible for there to be a condemnation and confession of sin in human nature which would be a real Amen to the divine condemnation of sin and commensurate with its evil and God's wrath against it.<sup>48</sup> It is stated:

The divine righteousness in Christ appearing on the part of man, and in humanity, met the divine righteousness in God condemning man's sin, by the true and righteous confession of its sinfulness uttered in humanity, and righteousness as in God was satisfied, and demanded no more than righteousness as in Christ thus presented.<sup>49</sup>

Behind the vicarious confession of our sins by Christ is McLeod Campbell's radical assertion of the representative significance of the Incarnation. Thus it is unfair to interpret his conception of the vicarious repentance as the substitution of a moral fiction for a legal fiction. When this doctrine is seen in its proper Christological framework--the Incarnation and the adoption to sonship--it becomes a profoundly significant aspect of the whole representative work of Christ in our humanity.<sup>50</sup>

Because of his integration of the atonement with the loving purposes of a gracious heavenly Father for

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<sup>47</sup> John McLeod Campbell, *Atonement*, pp. 135-137.

<sup>48</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 138.

<sup>49</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 143.

<sup>50</sup> Corbett, pp. 153, 171.

mankind, McLeod Campbell is dissatisfied with a concept of imputed righteousness whereby it is taught that God merely "assumes" righteousness in men.<sup>51</sup> He insists that a man is justified in the person of Jesus Christ, and justification is not a legal fiction; rather, it is a real sharing in the life of Christ.<sup>52</sup> In the sufferings of Christ what is important is not the amount of pain endured, but the holiness and love involved in the suffering.<sup>53</sup> And because justification involves a real participation in the life of Christ, it is closely related to sanctification--both are part of God's one redemptive purpose, and both are grounded in the believer's union and communion with Christ.<sup>54,55</sup>

### III. UNION WITH CHRIST

The counterpart to the doctrine of the vicarious, representative humanity of Christ is the truth of union with Him and participation in all His benefits which takes place through the communion of the Holy Spirit. For the Reformers faith is union with Christ, and this truth of union with Him is the nucleus around which the

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<sup>51</sup>Faris, pp. 143-144.

<sup>52</sup>John McLeod Campbell, *Christ the Bread of Life* (2nd ed.; London: Macmillan & Co., 1869), p. 119; Corbett, p. 170.

<sup>53</sup>Corbett, p. 173.

<sup>54</sup>Faris, pp. 147-148.

<sup>55</sup>There are passages in *Atonement* (e.g., p. 145) which can be taken to imply that McLeod Campbell rejected outright the penal aspect of the sufferings of Christ. For a discussion on both sides of this question, see Faris, p. 120; Corbett, pp. 171, 173-174, 177; J. K. Mozley, *The Doctrine of the Atonement* (London: Gerald Duckworth & Co., Ltd., 1915), p. 191.



whole of theology revolves.<sup>56</sup> Union with Him, who has radically identified Himself with mankind through His Incarnation, means a participation in all that His righteousness means for human life.<sup>57</sup> And it is through partaking of Christ Himself that there comes the enjoyment of all His gracious benefits and blessings.

In the Federal Calvinists, however, it appears that there is a remarkable weakening of this doctrine of union with Christ, especially as the subjective interest is given more prominence.<sup>58</sup> The overall thrust appears to be that we partake of Christ by partaking of His benefits--a reversal of the earlier teaching.<sup>59</sup> Thus union with Christ is often described as more of a consequence of faith, rather than the very substance of faith itself and that from which all else must necessarily flow. At best this union is understood in forensic terms by the Federalists and is pictured as being transacted only when the appropriate conditions are met.<sup>60</sup>

In opposing the Federal Calvinism of his day McLeod Campbell strongly reasserts that by union with

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<sup>56</sup> See Knox, p. 81.

<sup>57</sup> Corbett, pp. 252-253.

<sup>58</sup> Ibid., pp. 103-104.

<sup>59</sup> T. F. Torrance, *School*, p. XLII.

<sup>60</sup> See Welch, p. 209; Gillespie, pp. 340-341; Rutherford, p. 398; Dickson, pp. 437-440; Durham, p. 478.

Christ we are given to participate in His life.<sup>61</sup> He insists that because of the closeness of this union, holiness and righteousness cannot be adequately depicted merely as being "imputed" to believers.<sup>62</sup> Rather, he defines the entire work of Christ in terms which are characteristic of union with Christ.<sup>63</sup> Furthermore, whereas in many of the Federalists there is ground for asking whether a more scholastic method is allowed to displace, at least partially, the operation of the Holy Spirit, McLeod Campbell declares that through the provision of the Spirit men may share the benefits of Christ's life and death, and, after they are shown that He is theirs, may be made holy.<sup>64</sup>

#### IV. THE OFFICES OF CHRIST

Another possible modification in the doctrine of the Mediator in the later Calvinists concerns the offices of Christ. The theology of both Calvin and Knox can be characterized by the doctrine of the Sole Priesthood of Christ.<sup>65</sup> But in the theology of the seventeenth century this doctrine seems largely to have been lost, and with it the theology of worship was also undermined. The emphasis of the Federalists on the new creature was fertile ground

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<sup>61</sup>John McLeod Campbell, *Atonement*, p. 201; Corbett, p. 176; Faris, p. 262.

<sup>62</sup>Faris, p. 146.

<sup>63</sup>Ibid., p. 348.

<sup>64</sup>Ibid., pp. 137,145.

<sup>65</sup>See Calvin, pp. 40,41 and Knox, p. 89.

for the growth of a doctrine of the priesthood of all believers,<sup>66</sup> which contains within it a dangerous individualism contrary to the teaching of the New Testament.<sup>67</sup> Had there been the continuation of the great Biblical doctrines of the prayer life of Christ and His perpetual intercession at the right hand of the Father, this notion would probably never have materialized.

In the Reformers all three offices of Christ, especially His Priesthood, are understood to be grounded in His humanity.<sup>68</sup> As the great High Priest in our same flesh He has done once-for-all that which we could never do; He has offered to God that response of worship and prayer which is the due of the entire race. And from His priestly office in our same nature He imparts to us the Spirit, whom He has received in full. This Spirit is given to us on the basis of Christ's saving work, so that through Him we may be renewed, sanctified, and adopted as sons of God in Christ. But in the Federalists this place of Christ's humanity in His priesthood, whereby the Spirit is given, seems to have been largely displaced because of the use of legal categories and commercial vocabulary. The concern comes to be far more with the

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<sup>66</sup>See Rollock, p. 248.

<sup>67</sup>See T. F. Torrance, *Royal Priesthood* (*Scottish Journal of Theology Occasional Papers*, No. 3), (Edinburgh: Oliver and Boyd Ltd., 1955), p. 35.

<sup>68</sup>See Knox, pp. 87-90.

importance of His once-for-all sacrifice, whereby the Father's wrath was satisfied, than on His continuing intercession in our nature before the Father.<sup>69</sup>

#### V. FOR WHOM IS CHRIST THE MEDIATOR?

A final major difference concerns those for whom Christ undertakes as the Mediator. The Reformers, following the Greek Fathers, maintain that by virtue of His Incarnation Christ holds all men objectively, or ontologically, in Himself so that all have their humanity from Him.<sup>70</sup> Thus Christ is the Head of all men, the Mediator between God and mankind, as is evidenced by the universal design of the Incarnation. However this solidarity of Christ with the human race seems to be lost in the Calvinistic framework of the seventeenth century. In its place there is erected a doctrine of two kingdoms--the Church and the world--or two separate spheres, only one of which Christ rules and is Lord.<sup>71</sup> And it is to this kingdom, the body of Christ, alone which His work is said to apply. His mediation, His offices, and His death are described as having been exclusively for the elect, not for the entire race of mankind.<sup>72</sup>

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<sup>69</sup>This transfer of stress from the humanity of Christ to His deity in His priesthood is actually a reversion to the medieval Church's teaching. See Jungmann, p. 243.

<sup>70</sup>See Knox, p. 104.

<sup>71</sup>See Melville, pp. 139, 146; Gillespie, pp. 313-315.

<sup>72</sup>See Welch, pp. 199-200; Rollock, pp. 256-258; Gillespie, pp. 311, 315, 324-325; Rutherford, pp. 374, 385-386; Dickson, pp. 428-429; Durham, p. 470.

This limitation is certainly in contrast with most of the teaching of the Reformers who speak of the universal sufficiency of Christ's finished work.<sup>73</sup> And as John McLeod Campbell saw, there is no foundation for true assurance unless it can be confessed that Christ has died for all, and the Gospel is presented as the gift of God to every human being.<sup>74</sup> Of course neither the Fathers, the Reformers, nor McLeod Campbell teach a doctrine of universalism, for man must be incorporated into Christ by the Spirit. But what they do insist on is the universal intention and scope of both the Incarnation and atonement, so that no human being is excluded from the mediatorial work of Christ.

POSSIBLE THEOLOGICAL CONSEQUENCES OF THESE SUGGESTED  
MODIFICATIONS OF THE DOCTRINE OF THE MEDIATOR

I. THE DOCTRINE OF GOD

Resulting from these modifications in the doctrine of the Mediator are a number of important theological consequences which affect nearly the whole of the doctrinal framework. One area which is particularly vulnerable toward change by the Federalist system is the proper,

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<sup>73</sup> See Knox, pp. 104, 106. It is the imposition of a logic which is alien to the Biblical witness which insists that there must necessarily be one of three outcomes to the work of Christ: (1) universalism, (2) limited atonement, or (3) Arminianism. None of these fits the Biblical teaching in its entirety. Indeed there is a mystery here which man may never be able to comprehend fully.

<sup>74</sup> John McLeod Campbell, *Reminiscences and Reflections, Referring to his Early Ministry in the Parish of Row, 1825-31*, ed. Donald Campbell (London, 1873), p. 16 (Hereafter designated as *Reminiscences*).

Biblical doctrine of God. Both in the scriptures and in the teaching of the Reformers the major premise is the loving Fatherhood of God,<sup>75</sup> in which also John McLeod Campbell finds the root-cause of the atonement.<sup>76</sup>

Many of the statements of the later Calvinists seem to imply that justice is God's essential attribute, and His love (or mercy) is only an arbitrary attribute. God is pictured many times as harsh and demanding, a God who must punish sin and disobedience to His holy Law. He is a consuming fire, and it is often implied that He must be propitiated into being gracious. Therefore, the Federalists tend to see forgiveness as being possible only after the appropriate substitutionary sacrifice has been offered before God's terrible vengeance.<sup>77</sup> This view of the atonement results both because the mediatorship and humanity of Christ is allowed to recede into the background, as in the medieval Roman Church,<sup>78</sup> and because of the supposed legal categories involved in the relationship between the Father and the Son. Redemption is understood in the light of the assumption of legal obligations on the part of the Son in return for the fulfillment of promises on the part of the Father. Thus there is danger

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<sup>75</sup> See Knox, pp. 82-84; Welch, pp. 179-180. One problem with this view is that it must somehow be reconciled with the many scriptural passages concerning judgment and the horrible consequences of sin. Even Christ Himself spoke often of the horrors of eternal damnation.

<sup>76</sup> Corbett, p. 166.

<sup>77</sup> See Rollock, pp. 254, 263-264; Gillespie, pp. 302, 327, 453.

<sup>78</sup> See Jungmann, p. 251.

of destroying the unity of the holy Trinity and the unity of God's purpose because of supposed conflicting attributes--Justice and Love. In some of the Federalists' statements one wonders if it is not a schizophrenic God who is being confessed, a God who reflects two minds in terms of two covenants. And often the Father is pictured as being more concerned with the execution of His Justice and the Son more with the expression of His Love. Hence the doctrine of the atonement is one more of what God had to do, rather than wonder at what He has done.<sup>79</sup>

In contrast with this legalistic scheme the Bible teaches that forgiveness is no problem with God and that God's attitude is not changed toward sinners because of the work of Christ.<sup>80</sup> This truth never negates the necessity of the atonement, but means that because there is forgiveness in God our Father, who loves the world, He offers a way of atonement and propitiation in Christ to cover our sins. God is gracious and does not need to be conditioned into being gracious;<sup>81</sup> therefore forgiveness precedes atonement, "and the atonement must be the form of the manifestation of the forgiving love of God, not its cause."<sup>82</sup>

And whereas in Federal theology the whole meaning

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<sup>79</sup>Faris, p. 185; Corbett, pp. 46-47.

<sup>80</sup>Hendry, pp. 118, 121; Brunner, p. 16.

<sup>81</sup>See Calvin, p. 24.

<sup>82</sup>John McLeod Campbell, *Atonement*, p. 18; Corbett, p. 167.



of God's grace in Christ tends to be shifted to a secondary status, almost as an after-thought,<sup>83</sup> McLeod Campbell interprets the meaning of grace as the Father's gift of His Son to the world, who in our same nature has fulfilled for the world all God's holy requirements and in whose vicarious life and intercessions we are freely given to participate through the Holy Spirit. And it is by looking to Christ's sorrow and suffering that we learn both of God's condemnation of sin and of His yearning love which forgives us.<sup>84</sup> Only in Christ does one find the knowledge of the true moral law as revealed in the loving character of God.<sup>85</sup>

Like Calvin and Augustine McLeod Campbell lays immense stress on the loving purposes of God in sending Christ to accomplish man's redemption. He contends that a doctrine of a limited atonement cuts away at the basis of the assertion that God is love, for what God is towards us, He is eternally and antecedently in Himself. Therefore, if there is an arbitrariness in God there is reason to doubt that God is love in Himself. And it is a delusion to posit the justice and mercy of God as opposites; "they are all one thing--one manifestation of this great Truth that God is 'love.'"<sup>86,87</sup>

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<sup>83</sup>Corbett, p. 48.

<sup>84</sup>Faris, p. 111.

<sup>85</sup>Corbett, pp. 165,168.

<sup>86</sup>John McLeod Campbell, *Sermons and Lectures*, II, p. 14; Faris, p. 126.

<sup>87</sup>Thus McLeod Campbell argues that men have not given the

McLeod Campbell also questions the Calvinistic understanding of moral law and the concept of the necessity of the atonement which finds its origin in the satisfaction to divine justice.<sup>88</sup> He greatly dislikes the notion which erects the Justice of God as a barrier to the atonement. Although Justice is significant in regard to the retrospective aspect of the atonement, this element is subordinated to the prospective aspect.<sup>89</sup> But perhaps his greatest fear in this regard is that the idea of the Lawgiver might be considered to be a higher and more basic concept than than of Father.<sup>90</sup>

In the framework of Federalism the doctrine of God appears to have been formulated in large measure by the process of abstraction, independent from the knowledge of God revealed in the Person and Work of Christ. When the doctrine of God is so constructed, questions begin to arise as to His attributes, His decrees, how He is known (natural and revealed theology), and how He can be just and permit evil. McLeod Campbell revolts against such an impersonal concept of God and declares that all God's attributes and actions are to be interpreted and

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love of God its proper place (Faris, pp. 126-127), because Jesus Christ is God, there can be no question that God is love (Ibid., p. 80), and man has great difficulty in apprehending that God loves him irrespective of what he is (Ibid., p. 60; John McLeod Campbell, *Reminiscences*, pp. 133-134).

<sup>88</sup> John McLeod Campbell, *Responsibility for the Gift of Eternal Life* (London: Macmillan, 1873), p. 106; Faris, pp. 163-164.

<sup>89</sup> John McLeod Campbell, *Atonement*, pp. 27-28; Faris, p. 166.

<sup>90</sup> Faris, p. 341.

understood by the knowledge of His love.<sup>91</sup> He criticizes the classical Calvinists for abstracting the Lawgiver from God the Father, thereby allowing the moral Law to become a barrier to His purpose of salvation for mankind.<sup>92</sup>

## II. ELECTION AND PREDESTINATION

Very much related to this variation in the doctrine of God is a different perspective concerning election and predestination. In the Reformers there is a marked, though perhaps not always consistent, attempt to expound these doctrines Christologically so that Christ is exalted as the agent, the substance, and the matter of election; He is God's Chosen One for all men.<sup>93</sup> But in the Federalists the more prominent attention is given to those chosen before the creation of the world by God--the elect--and the bringing of them into His kingdom. And if Christ's election is presented, the tendency is to see Him as chosen privately apart from His people. Thus the emphasis is on God's sovereign choice and His justice in choosing some and bringing them to salvation, and this stress appears to be made at the expense of the doctrine of the election of Christ, God's appointed representative for all mankind. Certainly teaching which depicts God as desiring some to

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<sup>91</sup> Faris, pp. 128-129.

<sup>92</sup> Ibid., p. 333; Corbett, pp. 164, 167.

<sup>93</sup> See Calvin, p. 47; Scots Confession, p. 74; Knox, pp. 95-96. This teaching, however, never destroys the mystery involved in this Biblical doctrine. Here man is faced with something which is far above what his human ability can reconcile, and all he can do is offer the doxological response to His Creator.

enjoy His goodness eternally and others to be punished eternally, irregardless of any response or refusal on their part, calls into question the very nature of God's love and His essential gracious character.<sup>94</sup>

John McLeod Campbell maintains that the scheme of double predestination denies the very heart of the Gospel. One result of the concept of reprobation had been that men's attention had been shifted from their natural relation to God in Christ to the legal relation, applicable to the elect alone. And out of this dualistic system came a legalistic interpretation of grace.<sup>95</sup> This dualism was integrated into Federal Theology by means of the two covenants which testified of God's two ways of dealings with man.<sup>96</sup> Thus McLeod Campbell is concerned with replacing this rationalism, which was used to explain damnation and salvation ("the logic of election"), with "the logic of the Incarnation," which lays stress on the assumption by Christ of the humanity of all men, whereby it is cleansed and lifted up to God and there is made a living way for all men to come to their heavenly Father.<sup>97</sup>

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<sup>94</sup> See Augustine, p. 65; Welch, p. 190; Rollock, p. 259; Gillespie, pp. 325-326; Rutherford, pp. 393-395; Dickson, pp. 433-434; Durham, p. 475. For the Federal Calvinists John 3:16 refers almost always to God's love for "the elect world."

<sup>95</sup> Corbett, pp. 162-163.

<sup>96</sup> Ibid., p. 57.

<sup>97</sup> Faris, pp. 424-425.

### III. MAN, SIN, AND JUDGMENT

One of the most constant temptations of Western theology is to turn inward and to become preoccupied with the problems of man, his sin, and his guilt. While it was the Reformers' intention to understand man in the light of Christ, the Federalists appear largely to be man-centred with an inordinate interest in the appropriation of salvation by man.<sup>98</sup> Therefore, it is not surprising to find the seventeenth century doctrine of the atonement grounded in man's need, rather than on the purpose of God for man.<sup>99</sup> Whereas Calvin so quickly lifts his eyes from man to the glory of the Father, the Federalists insist on expounding man's dilemma in all its terrible fulness before fixing their attention on the Person of Christ. They appear to see the Mediator only as the remedy for the sin of man, rather than the embodiment of the Father's loving purposes for mankind.<sup>100</sup>

Certainly in Calvin and Knox the doctrine of sin is taken very seriously, but it is seen in its proper perspective--in the light of a grieved heavenly Father and revealed most clearly in the light of Christ's sufferings and obedience. But in the Calvinistic scheme sin is defined in terms of a breach of God's moral Law (either written or moral), and man's guilt is depicted in contrast

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<sup>98</sup>T. F. Torrance, *School*, p. XLVIII; Corbett, pp. 48-49.

<sup>99</sup>Corbett, p. 159.

<sup>100</sup>See Rollock, pp. 236-239; Gillespie, p. 299.

to the perfect standard expressed in the Law. Yet the question which arises from this interpretation of sin is whether it is able to explain adequately what sin means to God. For even the Law itself is manifest fully only in the obedience, righteousness, and holiness of the One who actualized in His very earthly existence the Biblical declaration "Lo, I am come to do Thy will."<sup>101</sup> Furthermore, while the Reformers attempt to explain judgment and condemnation in terms of grace refused, the Federalists tend largely to resort to concepts of original sin and actual sin--which lead to great concern over the unpardonable sin. Against this background McLeod Campbell argues that man will not be judged by the Law, but by the Gospel; it is Jesus Christ who will be on the Judgment Seat.<sup>102</sup> And whereas in the Federal scheme the life and death of Christ reveal little more of God than what the Law negatively testified, McLeod Campbell insists that Christ's active obedience contains a loving revelation of the will of God for human life set forth in all its fulness. Thus His obedience is not so much the fulfilment of an abstract Law, but the disclosure of the heart of the Father by the Son. In Him the very holy life of God is manifest in humanity as both the revelation and the accomplishment of the will of God for man.<sup>103</sup>

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<sup>101</sup>Corbett, pp. 168, 178; Cf. Brunner, pp. 147, 150, 522.

<sup>102</sup>Faris, p. 153.

<sup>103</sup>Corbett, pp. 168-169. It is added that in the life of Christ there is no apparent conflict between justice and love.

Related to this preoccupation with man and sin is what appears to be a movement away from the stress on what Christ has done for us to what we must do if we would be, or know that we are, in covenant with God. Therefore, there is greater stress on the imperatives of repentance, obedience, and faith, rather than on the indicatives of grace. And there is much exhortation designed to encourage self-examination and private covenanting with God. Throughout the works of the Federal Calvinists there are almost endless passages dealing with human response, such as faith, repentance, and "closing with Christ," and all the duties and responsibilities of the inner life and experience, including matters of the conscience and subjective awareness.<sup>104</sup>

Out of this anthropological interest emerges the *felix culpa* notion, which suggests that we are to rejoice because of Adam's fall, since it resulted in a far greater glory than would otherwise have been possible, namely the knowledge of God's saving grace in Christ.<sup>105</sup> Although this notion has a logical consistency about it, the question which arises, when such a concept is propounded, is whether or not the presuppositions upon which it is based are valid. Such a notion can be conceived only when there is a radical separation of nature and grace and a division between God's purposes for man--before and

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<sup>104</sup>See Rollock, pp. 276-278; Gillespie, pp. 343-345; Dickson, p. 444; Durham, pp. 486-488, 490.

<sup>105</sup>See Rollock, p. 269; Gillespie, p. 306; Rutherford, p. 367.



after the fall. Certainly the biblical teaching concerning God and the Christocentric scheme of the Reformers lifts one's attention out of the arena where such notions can arise.

#### IV. CONDITIONAL GRACE

In comparing the theology of the Reformers with that of the Federalists there is also an apparent difference in connection with the doctrine of grace. In contrast with the Reformers the Federalists teach the existence of a radical dichotomy between the sphere of nature and the sphere of grace, of natural law and the Gospel, so that Christ's mediation extends only to the Covenant of Grace and the Church. This rigid separation actually amounts to a reversion to the medieval view that grace both presupposes and perfects nature--a departure from the Reformers' insistence that nothing is prior to grace.<sup>106</sup> Thus Federal Theology tends to destroy the fundamental unity of creation and redemption in Christ and obscures the essential meaning of grace found in God's very act of creation.<sup>107</sup> This separation or dichotomy is expressed in terms of two or more covenants.<sup>108</sup> While the Reformers hold that God from eternity has enacted only one eternal covenant in Christ,<sup>109</sup> the Federalists maintain that God

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<sup>106</sup>J. B. Torrance, "Covenant," p. 67.

<sup>107</sup>Corbett, p. 50.

<sup>108</sup>T. M. Lindsay, "Covenant Theology," *British and Foreign Evangelical Review*, XXVIII, 1879, p. 523; Faris, pp. 171-172.

<sup>109</sup>See Calvin, p. 25; Knox, p. 107. "Covenant" is certainly a great Biblical word, but it must be given its scriptural meaning and

has enacted a Covenant of Works with unfallen man and a Covenant of Grace for sinful man. Often this latter Covenant is subdivided into the Covenant of Redemption between the Father and the Son and the Covenant of Reconciliation between God and man.<sup>110</sup>

Out of the Reformers' doctrine of one eternal covenant there is the expression of the great biblical truth of God's free and unconditional grace, with the placing of the indicatives of grace prior to the imperatives of law and human obligation. Thus repentance comes after forgiveness (evangelical repentance).<sup>111</sup> But from Federal Theology with its doctrine of two or three covenants, there emerges a doctrine of conditional grace, whereby it is taught that man must acquire a saving interest in Christ; that is, he must fulfil the conditions and obligations (the imperatives) before he can benefit from the blessings of Christ (the indicatives). Therefore, forgiveness becomes legalistic and is divorced from love and personal relations.<sup>112</sup> And faith is made into a condition of the Covenant of Grace and of salvation--hence the need for "justifying faith."<sup>113</sup> McLeod Campbell

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place--not one of independence from the Person and Work of the Mediator of the Covenant.

<sup>110</sup> See Rollock, p. 271; Gillespie, p. 330; Rutherford, p. 388; Dickson, p. 429; Durham, p. 472; "Sum," p. 500.

<sup>111</sup> The Reformers rightly do leave room for human beings to refuse and despise the free and unconditional grace of God--perhaps the greatest mystery in all the world.

<sup>112</sup> Corbett, pp. 154-155; See Rollock, pp. 273, 279; Gillespie, p. 337; Durham, p. 446.

<sup>113</sup> See Rollock, p. 273; Rutherford, pp. 391, 407.

was greatly distressed because his people, long trained in this concept of conditional grace, felt that there was something which they had to do, a condition which was mandatory for them to fulfil before they could consciously enjoy salvation. Christ was considered the reward of some goodness--"not perfect goodness, but some goodness that would sustain a personal hope of acceptance in drawing near to Him." Hence he had to battle against the rejection of God's grace in Jesus Christ.<sup>114</sup>

The Federalists insist that the Law must always be preached before the Gospel; that is, the grace of God in Christ cannot be grasped without first apprehending the thundering of divine wrath and judgment against sin.<sup>115</sup> Thus the Covenant of Works becomes the major premise in Federal Calvinism, the framework upon which the whole concept of the covenants of redemption and grace.<sup>116</sup> And while in the New Testament a covenant is that which creates a personal relationship, a community of interest, binding together the two parties in a firm relationship, as is actualized in Christ,<sup>117</sup> the federal scheme is built upon the deepseated confusion of a covenant and a contract.<sup>118</sup> The covenant becomes a

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<sup>114</sup> John McLeod Campbell, *Reminiscences*, pp. 132-133; Corbett, p. 154; Faris, pp. 58-60.

<sup>115</sup> See Welch, p. 193; Dickson, pp. 438, 445.

<sup>116</sup> Corbett, p. 48; Faris, p. 183.

<sup>117</sup> George E. Mendenhall, "Covenant," *The Interpreter's Dictionary of the Bible*, 1962, I, p. 722.

<sup>118</sup> J. B. Torrance, "Covenant," p. 66.

contract, a bargain, or pact with mutual conditions which must be fulfilled for its validation.<sup>119,120</sup> Therefore, instead of "covenant" being given its great Biblical meaning, it is defined more in terms which are derived from the commercial and political life of the seventeenth century.<sup>121</sup>

Although the Reformers speak of a Covenant of Grace, it is never set forth in relation to a former Covenant of Works.<sup>122</sup> And while they attempt to subordinate the covenant idea to the doctrine of Christ, the Federal Calvinists make the concept of the covenants into a massive framework into which all of theology is cast. Thus the covenant comes to be interpreted unchristologically, and redemption is thought of solely in forensic terms, resulting from moving to the Covenant of Grace from the Covenant of Works, and the conditioning of the whole character of the former by the presuppositions of the latter.<sup>123</sup> It was McLeod Campbell's intention to escape from this framework in which the Covenant of Works is

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<sup>119</sup>Lindsay, pp. 521-528; Faris, p. 171.

<sup>120</sup>See Welch, p. 192; Rollock. p. 271; Gillespie, pp. 318, 328-329; Rutherford, p. 390; Dickson, p. 430; Durham, pp. 472-473; "Sum," p. 500.

<sup>121</sup>See J. B. Torrance, "Covenant," p. 61; Faris, p. 187; S. A. Burrell, "The Covenant Idea as a Revolutionary Symbol: Scotland, 1596-1637," *Church History*, Vol. XXVII, No. 4 (December 1958), pp. 338-350; G. D. Henderson, "The Idea of the Covenant in Scotland," *The Evangelical Quarterly*, January 1955, p. 13.

<sup>122</sup>Corbett, p. 39.

<sup>123</sup>*Ibid.*, pp. 48-49.

made to shape the understanding of grace, for he saw that men were actually turning the grace of the Gospel into a new law, making faith a means whereby a man makes his way into heaven.<sup>124</sup>

#### V. THE PROBLEM OF ASSURANCE

Issuing from this notion of conditional grace was the problem of assurance. This question appears not to have troubled either Calvin or Knox because their faith was grounded on Christ and His faithfulness before the Father in our humanity; therefore assurance is of the very essence of faith.<sup>125</sup> Indeed nothing can spoil the finished work of Christ on our behalf and its acceptance before God.<sup>126</sup> But within the Federal system, with its tendency toward subjectivism and inward looking, assurance must be sought on the basis of the appropriate marks or evidences of election. When these "infallible" marks are present one can "feel" assured of His covenant interest in Christ and therefore of his eternal safety.<sup>127</sup>

It was because of the inadequacy of this latter teaching on assurance, whereby one looks inward to discern the fruits of faith, among his conscience-stricken people

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<sup>124</sup> Ibid., p. 177; Faris, p. 430.

<sup>125</sup> See Knox, p. 110.

<sup>126</sup> The question which is unanswered by the Reformers on assurance is whether or not there is a false assurance. It would appear that there needs to be both an objective assurance, based on Christ and His finished work, and a subjective assurance, produced by the Holy Spirit in the individual.

<sup>127</sup> See Rollock, p. 260; Gillespie, p. 327; Rutherford, pp. 409-410; Dickson, p. 447; Durham, p. 491.

that John McLeod Campbell was led into a careful study of the New Testament which rings with assurance and where the imperatives of the Gospel flow from the Apostles' understanding of the indicatives of the Gospel. Therefore, he attempted to turn his people's attention away from themselves to Christ and the Gospel. They were exhorted to look to God to determine whether or not they had salvation, not to themselves--hence his teaching of the "assurance of faith."<sup>128</sup>

#### VI. THE CHURCH, WORSHIP, AND THE CHRISTIAN LIFE

Another consequence concerns the doctrine of the Church and the life and worship of its members. The early Scottish theologians approached the doctrine of the Church more from a Christological than an ecclesiological standpoint.<sup>129</sup> Thus the Church is the body of Christ, the sphere where He creates an abiding communion with Himself; here He is known and met in love, and our meeting with Him is actualized, so that our destiny is fulfilled in becoming the instrument of His love and in reflecting His glory.<sup>130</sup> Therefore, Christ is related both to the Church as a whole and to each member individually. But in the framework of the seventeenth century Calvinists, although their ecclesiology is not fully developed, the

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<sup>128</sup> John McLeod Campbell, *Reminiscences*, p. 133; Corbett, pp. 154-155; Faris, pp. 63-64.

<sup>129</sup> Roy Blackwood, Jr., "Wm. Symington Churchman and Theologian" (Ph.D. thesis; University of Edinburgh, 1963), p. 276.

<sup>130</sup> T. F. Torrance, *Royal Priesthood*, p. 32.

tendency is to define the Church in terms of a corporate body each member of which has responded to the grace of God. Even when she is depicted as the bearer of salvation upon the earth, the attention is not so removed from her and the activity and initiative of her members that her Head is given the pre-eminent place accorded to Him in the New Testament teaching concerning the Church.<sup>131</sup>

From this perspective of Federalism there also results an unfortunate distinction between the Visible and the Invisible Church which fails to take into account the fervent teaching on the unity of Christ's body found in the older Scottish tradition. In the Calvinistic scheme the Invisible Church comprises the elect who are known only to God while the Visible Church consists of the penitent who have made their "external covenant."<sup>132</sup> This division, along with the doctrine of the two kingdoms, caused problems in times of religious controversy and led to difficulties in regard to the relationship of the Church to the State.<sup>133</sup>

The life of those in Christ is described by the Reformers primarily in terms of a union and communion with Christ in His life and death. Here there is a direct relationship between His vicarious, representative humanity

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<sup>131</sup>See Rollock, pp. 279,281; Dickson, p. 448; Durham, p. 492.

<sup>132</sup>See Rutherford, p. 412.

<sup>133</sup>For an interesting treatment of this relationship (as well as the doctrine of the atonement) in Symington, in a later period, see Blackwood, pp. 248,250,253,257-260,273-274,302,309-312,323,346.



and the believer's sanctification. Though justification and sanctification may be distinguished, they are never separated because they both issue from one's participation in Christ. But for the Federalists there is a marked departure from this association as justification is expounded in once-for-all judicial terms and sanctification is left largely to the believer's own efforts. He is expected to follow the requirements of the Law in a moralistic manner, growing in His Christian profession through the diligent and proper use of the means of grace.

Likewise there appears to be a difference in thrust concerning worship. For the Reformers worship concerns more what Christ is doing rather than human activity. In the worship of God Christ Himself is given the central place, and man draws near only through His mediation and priestly intercession.<sup>134</sup> But in the seventeenth century divines worship becomes less and less a joyful, grateful response to the objective truths of Christ and His finished work, and more inward-looking with a subjective preoccupation with penitence and personal assurance.<sup>135</sup> This change in the concept and practice of worship is certainly consistent with the loss of the doctrine of Christ's continuing priestly intercession. Prayer can gain its full resonance before God only when it

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<sup>134</sup> See Calvin, pp. 40-41; Knox, p. 93; Welch, p. 185.

<sup>135</sup> See George W. Sprott, *The Worship of the Church of Scotland During the Covenanting Period, 1638-1661* (the Lee Lecture of 1893), (Edinburgh: William Blackwood and Sons, 1893).

is offered through Christ, the living Mediator in our risen humanity, who has fellow-feelings with us and purifies our prayers so that they are heard by the Father. Thus when His true humanity is overlooked or weakened by a one-sided emphasis on His deity, worship and prayer must necessarily centre on the activity and response either of the Church as a whole or of the individual.<sup>136</sup>

#### VII. THE SACRAMENTS

The change in regard to the Church and its worship is also reflected in the doctrine of the sacraments. Perhaps the most lasting impression made by the older Scottish theology was in the relationship it expressed between the reality of union with Christ and the sacraments.<sup>137</sup> Because it is through the sacraments that we are united with Him in His life and death and through which the Church is called into being, they are necessarily an integral part of the theological framework. But in the Federalists the sacraments often are given more of a supplementary place. The evangelical character of the sacraments is inevitably weakened when faith is interpreted in contractual terms, rather than union with Christ, and they are no longer seen as seals of the Gospel--evangelical ordinances--but as seals of our faith and of our

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<sup>136</sup> Jungmann, pp. 136-137, 140, 228.

<sup>137</sup> Corbett, p. 31.

repentance.<sup>138</sup> In fact, there appears to have been a problem for many of the Federalists concerning how the sacraments are to be viewed after they are explained in judicial and cognitive terms, and thus deprived of their essential meaning. Baptism becomes a badge of the Visible Church, a symbol of one's personal covenant, and the Lord's Supper becomes a feast of the converted or of the penitent. And any concept of the sacraments serving as converting or regenerating ordinances is rejected.<sup>139</sup>

Issuing from the meaning and significance of the sacraments is the question as to whom they should be offered. And on this point there is a remarkable shift of emphasis. For Knox our faults never keep us from the Table, which is designed as a medicine for the spiritually destitute; therefore all who will are invited to partake and be joined with Christ.<sup>140</sup> Very much in contrast with this teaching is the intense concern on the part of many of the Federal Calvinists for guarding the Lord's Supper from those judged unworthy in order that its purity might be safeguarded.<sup>141</sup> Of course Knox would have been unhappy to observe anyone partaking in what the Apostle calls an unworthy manner (I Corinthians 11:29), but he clearly realizes that no one in himself can ever be worthy or "good enough" to feast at the Lord's Table.

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<sup>138</sup> See Rutherford, p. 413.

<sup>139</sup> See Gillespie, pp. 352-353; Durham, p. 497.

<sup>140</sup> See Knox, p. 121.

<sup>141</sup> See Gillespie, pp. 350-351, 353; Rutherford, p. 414.

All must come in their rags and filthiness to be clothed with the garment of His perfect righteousness, for cleansing, renewal, sanctification, and acceptance before the Father. In the Federal system one also wonders sometimes if, as happened in the Church after the fourth century, perhaps the Eucharist does not become more of a sacrament of fear and dread than one of love. When the great Biblical truth of Christ's mediation in our humanity is lost, the Eucharist can never be a Table where the great High Priest gives of Himself freely to all who will partake; it can only be one of fear, dread, and concern that one be worthy to partake of the elements.<sup>142</sup>

#### VIII. CRITICISMS OF THE ROMAN CATHOLIC CHURCH

The formulation of the doctrine of the Church and the sacraments involves for the Reformers many harsh criticisms of the Roman Catholic Church of their day. But in most of their polemical statements there appears to be a great Christological stress. The Romanists are denounced because, following Aquinas, the Church--with her priests, the Pope, and the Mass--has usurped a place which is reserved for Christ alone. The doctrine of His sole mediation and intercession is endangered by the attempt to place alongside Christ saints, martyrs, and the Virgin Mary. Christ's mediatory role necessarily excludes all

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<sup>142</sup> See Jungmann, pp. 245, 262-263.

others.<sup>143,144</sup>

But when one studies the many and varied criticisms of the Roman Church made by the seventeenth century theologians of Scotland, there is reason to suspect that this great overriding stress may have been obscured. In discussions regarding transubstantiation, merit, sin, and the authority of the Pope, the criticism often appears to be more institutional, ecclesiological, and ideological than Christological. Such a changed outlook would be only the natural outcome of a system which tended toward preoccupation with man and his problems than on the great act of self-giving and self-disclosure performed by God in His Son's assumption of our very nature.

These suggested modifications of the doctrine of the Mediator and their theological consequences certainly illustrate first the absolutely essential nature of the doctrine. Apart from a proper, Biblical understanding of the Person and Work of the Mediator one's theology can only err, since Christ Himself is the very embodiment of truth. At stake then is the whole Christian message of reconciliation, the very life of the Church, and the spiritual well-being of all her members.

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<sup>143</sup> See Calvin, pp. 37-38; Knox, p. 89; Welch, pp. 220-223.

<sup>144</sup> Jungmann (pp. 269-278) argues that whenever the Church has lost sight of the essential mediatorship and humanity of Christ a human element has been inserted--hence the veneration of saints and their mediation. He also argues that the Roman liturgy is able to retain the Intercession of the saints without endangering the place of Christ as the sole Mediator between God and man.

Secondly, they illustrate the crucial place of scientific theology. The desire for a wholistic concept, a system, or unifying pattern is very much a part of human life and thought. Yet the lesson to be learned is that the truth--*i.e.*, the realities of God and His ways with His creatures--must never be forced into a scheme which is alien to the nature of the truth itself. The inner rationality of the truth must be penetrated until the truth suggests its own inherent patterns of disclosure. Then and only then will the truth be safeguarded from man-made Procrustean beds, and men will be hindered from attempting, even unconsciously, to make themselves wiser and more logical than the Holy Spirit through the introduction of improper questions and alien syllogisms.

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Date 21st December, 1973

Mr. Louis I. Hodges,  
Salisbury Green,  
Pollock Halls of Residence,  
18 Holyrood Park Road,  
Edinburgh,  
EH16 5AZ.

Dear Sir,

Thank you for your letter of November 17th 1973. I regret to have to tell you that this library's copy of The ark of the Testament opened was destroyed by bombing during the last war, and although we have retained the cataloguing slip, it gives no information as to where the attribution to George Gillespie was obtained.

I would suggest that you get in touch with New College Library of the National Library of Scotland to know on what evidence they attribute the work to Patrick Gillespie.

You may be interested to know that the new edition of Short-title catalogue of books ... 1641-1700, compiled by Donald Wing of the Yale University Library, of which only volume one, 1972, has so far been published, also attributes the work to George Gillespie.

Yours faithfully,

for the Superintendent





FROM THE WARDEN (sub)

TELEPHONE 031-667 4331

17 November 1973

Department of Printed Books,  
British Museum,  
Great Russell Street,  
London WC1 B3DG.

Dear Sirs,

In the course of my Ph.D. research involving early Scottish theology a rather troublesome discrepancy has arisen concerning the authorship of a book entitled

*The Ark of the Testament Opened, or the Secret of the Lord's Covenant Unsealed, In a Treatise of the Covenant of Grace*  
(London: Printed by R. C. for T. Parkhurst, Volume I in 1661, Volume II in 1677).

Your printed catalogue (*British Museum Catalogue of Printed Books*, 1965, Volume VI, column 1130) lists the author--who identifies himself only as "A Minister of the New Testament"--as George Gillespie. And in agreement with this ascription is the article "Gillespie, George," by Alexander Gordon in the *Dictionary of National Biography* (1890, XXI, pp. 360-361).

However, the following sources attribute the authorship of this book not to George Gillespie, but to his brother Patrick:

- (1) The catalogue of the New College Library (University of Edinburgh)
- (2) The catalogue of the National Library of Scotland.
- (3) Halkeith and Laing, *A Dictionary of Anonymous and Pseudonymous English Literature* (London: Oliver & Boyd, 1926), Vol. I, p. 140.
- (4) George W. Sprott, "Gillespie, Patrick," *Dictionary of National Biography*, 1890, XXI, p. 363.
- (5) James Walker, *The Theology and Theologians of Scotland*. . . (Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark, 1872), pp. 18 and 38.

Although I am inclined to think the British Museum is correct in ascribing the authorship to George Gillespie, I would be most grateful if you could give me your source of verification or the knowledge of any other information which would clarify this matter.

Yours faithfully,

Louis I. Hodges